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In Memory of
STEPHEN SPAULDING
1907 – 1925
CLASS of 1927
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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A

TOUR TO SHEERAZ,

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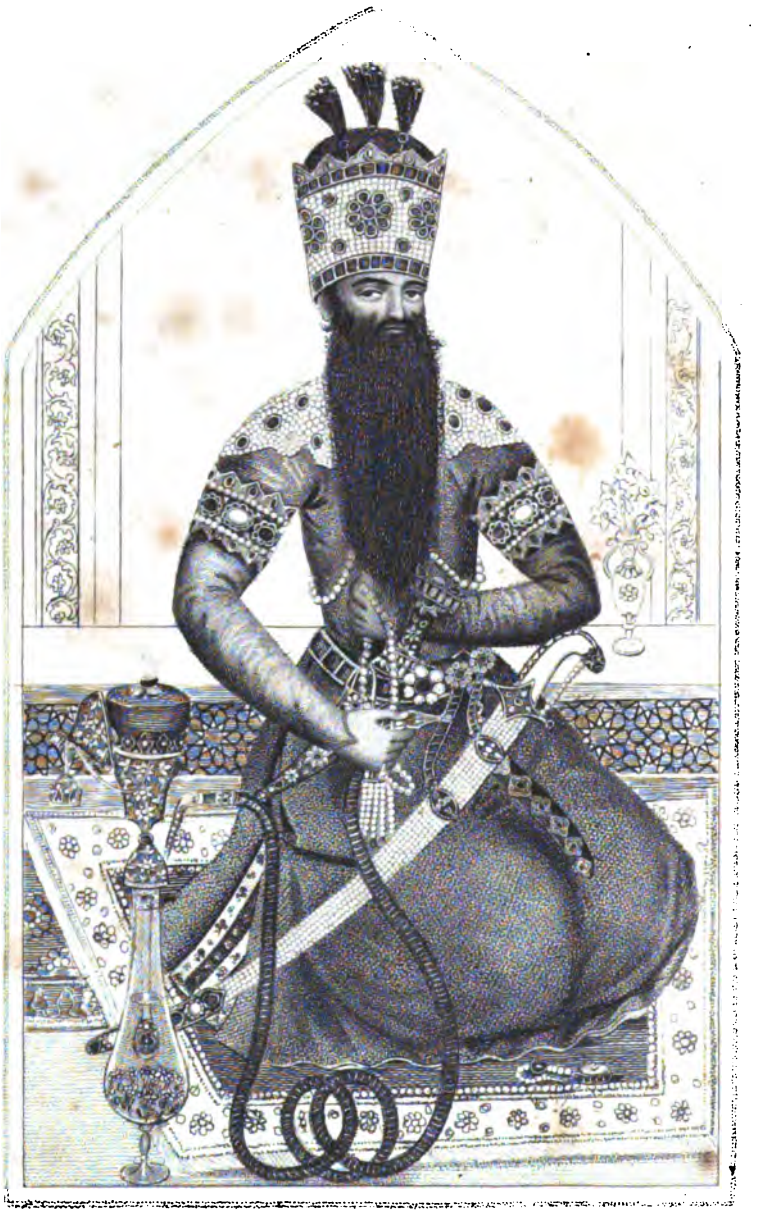

FUTIH ULEE SHAH,

the present King of Persia.

Engraved by C. Turner, from an Original Picture.

Published Jan.ry 10th 1807, by Cadell & Davies, Strand.

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A

TOUR TO SHEERAZ,

BY THE ROUTE OF

KAZROON AND FEEROZABAD;

WITH VARIOUS

REMARKS ON THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, LAWS, LANGUAGE, AND LITERATURE OF THE PERSIANS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A HISTORY OF PERSIA,

FROM THE

DEATH OF KUREEM KHAN TO THE SUBVERSION OF THE ZUND DYNASTY.

BY EDWARD SCOTT WARING, ESQ.

OF THE BENGAL CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT.

——— BREVIS ESSE LABORO,
OBSCURUS, FIO,——

LONDON:

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Stephen Spaulding Coll.
Rochester
4-26-27

PREFACE.

Books of Travels have been received at all times, and in all ages, with avidity; the Author of the present work will consider himself well recompensed if he meet with a small portion of public indulgence. It has been expected of, and it has always been customary for, a traveller to assign the motives for his undertaking. Ill health and curiosity were the reasons which induced me to visit Persia; and if the Public deem the latter to have been well directed, I shall receive an ample compensation for the temporary loss of the most invaluable of all blessings.

Few countries have been visited oftener than Persia: relations of this country, however, have often been given by persons who were ignorant of the language of its inhabitants; by others, who have been too intent upon their own concerns to interest themselves about the manners or usages of a remote kingdom; and by some, whose prejudices have not only directed their enquiries, but also commanded their opinions.

How I have executed this work I am not to determine. I may be, however, allowed to mention, that I have spared no pains to

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establish the accuracy of my information; nor have I ever advanced any statement upon doubtful or suspicious authority.

This work was originally published in India. The numerous and absurd errors of the press, which were observable in every page of it, have induced the author to print it afresh, and he trusts he has rendered his work more worthy of public approbation. The subject of the Gaurs, or ancient inhabitants of Persia, appeared to me to have been exhausted; and I refrained from noticing a subject which has been so amply discussed by Sir J. Chardin. Since this work was printed, I have seen a knowledge of the ancient language of Persia, ascribed to the late Mehdee Ulee Khan: a knowledge as chimerical as his imputed virtues. His knowledge is said to have admirably qualified him for adjusting the discrepancies which have crept into the accounts of the Byzantine and early Mahometan historians. Admitting his acquaintance with the ancient language of Persia, I deny his ability of rectifying the contradictory accounts of the Greek and Mooslim writers: from what source was he to derive his knowledge? but the same *profound wisdom* which *created* his knowledge, might likewise *create for him* materials. But I deny his knowledge of the language, for it had ceased to exist in the time of Chardin.*

* Sir William Ousely believes that there are many works still existing in the ancient language of Persia, and many stupendous monuments of antiquity which have been unnoticed by European travellers. To satisfy himself upon this subject, he has resolved upon visiting Persia. His intention may remind us of the spectators visiting Cairo to measure the pyramids.†

† I cannot see that this is an unjust sarcasm upon Mr. Greaves; the accuracy of his measurement is now denied.

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I have but few words to add upon the subject of the translations which appear in this work. In no instance, excepting the quotations from the Ukhlaqi Nasiree, have I attended to the literal interpretation of my author. I have attempted rather to express the *sentiments* than the *words* of the Persian authors; a task infinitely more difficult than giving the bare meaning of a few verses. The one requires thought, the other requires none; and I believe it is a common observation, that a person may be a most literal translator, without feeling the spirit, or comprehending the design of his author.

Many persons have attached vast importance to the orthography of Indian or Persian words: I must confess that I attach none.* I have in general adhered to a system which was formed by Dr. John Gilchrist for his Hindoostanee Dictionary; but where words have received the sanction of universal usage, I have followed the voice of the public.

To avow an obligation is a debt not only of gratitude, but of justice; I may be, therefore, excused declaring, that whatever knowledge I may be supposed to possess of Eastern learning, I must ascribe to the exertions which have been made by the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley in favour of Oriental literature: and although (as it is probable) I may not have done justice to those exertions,

* For the sake of geography, it could be wished that a standard was fixed; it is the business of the geographer, and not of the grammarian, to determine upon a regular system of Oriental orthography.

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yet this declaration will not prove me ungrateful for the benefits which I might have received.

I shall not attempt to anticipate objections or extenuate errors. I have presented myself before a tribunal whose decision admits of no appeal; and to whose judgment I must bow with deference and submission.

Poona,
October 13, 1804.

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PART I.

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A TOUR TO SHEERAZ.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage to Bushire—Gulf of Persia—Views—Shimals—Shurqees—Town of Bushire—Hindoo Images—Manuscripts, &c.

On Saturday the 10th of April, 1802, I embarked on board the Shrewsbury, a vessel of three hundred tons burden, bound for the Gulf of Persia. The best season for performing this voyage, is from the commencement of October to the middle of March; we were therefore too late, and were in consequence driven some degrees to the southward before we met with a fair wind.

On the 25th, however, we came within sight of land, and on the 26th entered the Gulf of Persia. Our scene was now entirely changed; the eye, which had been accustomed to behold a vast expanse of water, was now gratified with a prospect of lofty hills and numerous islands.

Soon after our entrance into the gulf, we suffered greatly from a severe gale of wind, called a Shimal, from the wind blowing from the north-west. These Shimals come on very suddenly; they usually last from two to five days, during which time hardly a cloud is to be seen, although the wind rages with uncommon violence.

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The generality of gulfs, I believe, have two prevailing winds, the one fair, the other foul. A natural and obvious reason may be given for this circumstance in the Gulf of Persia. The high and stupendous mountains which skirt the shore, both on the Arabian and Persian coast, effectually prevent the wind from extending to the sea; so that, in fact, this gulf may be compared to a large funnel, which will only admit the wind to blow directly up or down. The other prevailing wind is called Shurqee, coming from the south-east; the chances are said to be, by experienced seamen, three to two in favour of the Shimal. The Shurqee is usually preceded by a very heavy dew, which is quite the reverse with the Shimal. After a most tedious passage, during which we experienced four violent Shimals, and once run on a sunken rock, we arrived, on the 22d of May, at Bushire.

This town is situate on a narrow neck of land, a very little above the level of the sea, and is frequently, from the rise of the tides, an island. The houses are mean, low, and small, being chiefly constructed with mud, or with a white and soft kind of stone, which adds very little to the respectability of their appearance. Bushire is surrounded by a wall, with a few bastions, which might possibly be a safeguard against the predatory incursions of horse. There are three Suraes, for the accommodation of merchants, out of repair, and old: indeed the only building of any note belongs to Mehdee Ulee Khan, the British resident at this place. The Company have had a factory here for more than fifty years; but I do not believe their trade to have been particularly advantageous. The broad cloth worn by the Persians is imported from France by the way of Russia; and, notwithstanding the expense of land carriage, they procure it cheaper than that which they purchase from the East India Company.*

* Dr. Fryer mentions, that he bought cloth in Persia cheaper than it is sold in England. Travels into Persia, p. 264. French cloth is also brought into Persia by way of Constantinople.

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Bushire is built of the materials of Reeshire, a town four miles to the southward, and in the time of the Portuguese a place of considerable consequence. Pieces of cannon, and humam images cut in stone, have been occasionally found among the ruins of this place. The Hindoos resident at Bushire purchase these stones at enormous prices, and, I have heard, are particularly careful in preventing a stranger from polluting them with his hands. If these images be really those of one of their gods, it would almost authorise the supposition, that the Hindoo religion formerly prevailed in Persia.*

But we must recollect that Reeshire was formerly inhabited by a number of Portuguese, and that possibly these images may be the representative of some Christian saint. It is greatly to be regretted, that conjecture must frequently supply the place of fact, and that our scanty and discordant accounts, upon Eastern subjects, will only allow of a diffident and sceptical opinion. The different and inconsistent relations we receive of a particular place, compel us to distrust our own observations: and it frequently happens, that the more earnest we are in our enquiries, the farther does the truth appear to be removed.†

The Hindoos live unmolested by the Persians, and are neither

* This has been the opinion of some ingenious and enlightened men, particularly Sir William Jones, who fixes Iran as the centre of migration. Vide Origin of Families and Nations, Sir William Jones's Works, vol. i. It might be proved, I think, from the *Shah Namu*, that the Bramins once prevailed in Persia. *Ky Kaoos*, one of their kings, is accused of being a *Bruhmun*. The Hindoo religion is so pliant, that there is scarcely an opinion it will not countenance.

† Bushire is a strong instance of the propriety of this remark. Out of three witnesses, two assert that the town is walled, and the third that it is defenceless. One says that it abounds with fine gardens, which is denied by a second evidence. Mr. Jones confirms the latter assertion, and maintains that the neck of land is never overflowed. See Voyage of Nearchus, p. 366-7. Much depends on the time these several evidences visited Bushire. Walls built of mud are soon destroyed and soon rebuilt. Bushire is only an island when the tides rise very high; but in such contradictory accounts as the above, *much also depends* on the sense attached to words. Thus one person may call a place surrounded with never so little water an island, and another maintain the reverse, because a ship could not sail round it.

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insulted nor oppressed by the government. This wonderful and extraordinary race of people are spread nearly over the face of the globe: Mr. Forster makes mention of a colony near the Caspian Sea. The attention of one of the most enlightened characters the last century produced, was occupied in an attempt to discover at what period, or from what country, the followers of Brahma came into India.* The vulgar error, of their being the original inhabitants of India, vanished with those clouds of ignorance and prejudice which so shamefully obscured the writings of former times; but if evidence were still wanting, the Mysore country is said clearly to demonstrate, that at no very considerable distance of time, its inhabitants owned the sway and followed the religion of Bood'h.†

A respectable author asserts, that the religion of India could not have been derived from Egypt, because "the moon shines forth to the Hindoos a male divinity," which, he says, "is contrary to all other systems of mythology."‡ He would find, however, upon enquiry, that in the mythology of the Saxons and Northern tribes, the moon was considered a male, and the sun a female, though their descendants have thought proper to adopt the more elegant and interesting fictions of Greece.§ The Hindoo mythology and history appear to be buried in impenetrable darkness; the faint glimmerings they have reflected, but stimulate our desire to be more intimately acquainted with the laws and sciences of a nation

* Sir William Jones. The magnificent cave at Carli (a village on the road from Bombay to Poonah) contains images of Bood'h, and yet this cave is arched, which, according to Mr. Maurice, would prove that it was excavated after that of Elephanta. It is difficult to conceive that a people who could form statues of exquisite symmetry, should be ignorant of the principles of forming or excavating an arch.

† A succinct account might be given, upon the authority of the priests of the Bood'h temples in Mysoor, of the introduction of the Bramin religion into that country. This information is more desireable than the fanciful hypotheses which have been framed of this people.

‡ Indian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 120.

§ This would furnish an argument (of what strength I shall not determine), that the religion of the East was diffused over the Western world.

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who boast of such excessive refinement. But since the æra of Halhed and Sir William Jones, the existence of the precious manuscripts of Sanscrit learning, has, like the chorus to a popular song, been echoed from author to author, who, though entirely ignorant of Sanscrit, have stamped with credibility a seemingly vague supposition. For what production have we yet seen to justify these extravagant praises? That the Hindoos possess many valuable works is extremely probable; but our being perpetually told so, without one of these works being ever produced, is the most extraordinary of all methods, to convince us of the truth of this assertion.

Unfortunately for the character and reputation of the Hindoo religion and mythology, it has been tortured by etymologists, and embellished by the ingenuity of fancy and of fiction; yet whatever it may have suffered in the purity and orthodoxy of its tenets, has been amply compensated by the illustrations of erudition, and by the powerful and persuasive assistance of poetry and of eloquence. We must not, however, forget, that systems founded on etymologies, and supported by solitary facts, are subject to one insurmountable objection. If one etymology, maintained by the most recondite learning, be proved erroneous, the whole system must inevitably be fallacious; for etymologies on Eastern subjects are like the keystone of an arch, upon whose stability and permanence depends the existence of a vast superstructure. Sir William Jones, who may certainly be considered a sufficient authority, protests strongly against the licentiousness of etymologists; and yet the principles of almost every author I have read on Eastern subjects, rest solely on etymological conjecture.* Mr. Maurice, whose name must be

* There is hardly a word which, agreeable to the principles of Eastern etymologists, may not be changed into any other. Thus *mul* may become *lul*, or *nul*, or *nun*, and possibly be the means of discovering that England was peopled from India. Etymologies are usually brought in support of systems, and ought not to be admitted upon questionable grounds.†

† See Mr. Gilchrist's Improved System of Indian Orthography, where the barbarous errors of ignorant Europeans are adduced to support the licentiousness of etymologists.

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always mentioned with respect, and whose talents command admiration, soars too high, and continues his flight too long, I fear, in the pleasing but unsubstantial regions of conjecture; yet his labours demand our gratitude, for he may be justly considered the only person who would have had the patience, perseverence, and ability to weave so pleasing a story from such a variety of incongruous and discordant materials. How feeble is the thread, how fine is the texture! and a thread once broken destroys the beauty of the whole. Etymologies or conjectures, supported with learning, are like the bubbles we have seen school-boys blowing, gaudy and captivating to the sight, but fleeting and unsubstantial.

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CHAPTER II.

Governor of Bushire—his Father—Trade—Persian Supper—belief in judicial Astrology.

But to return, after this digression, (which possibly does not accord with the character of a traveller) to Bushire. The present governor is Sheikh Nasir, the son of the celebrated Sheik Nusir, who supported the dignity and independence of his situation against the power of Kureem Khan.* Bushire owes the little consequence it possesses to the efforts of this remarkable man, who, although perpetually engaged in war, carried on a very extensive trade with India and Muscat, the profits of which enabled him to keep up a large standing force. At the period of his death, he is said to have left his son two millions of money, three thousand camels, and six hundred brood mares.

This is doubtless an exaggerated account; it evinces, however, the public opinion of his enormous wealth. But the son gave himself little trouble to preserve the acquisitions of his father; and, in consequence, Lootf Ulee Khan deprived him of that wealth and power which he wanted the spirit to defend. On being advised to take into his service a body of Georgians, who had been dismissed by A Moohummud, and who would have ensured the security of his property, he gave, as a reason for his refusal, that they drank rack, and where was he to provide them with intoxicating liquors?

A very considerable sum of specie is annually exported from

* Vide Niebuhr.

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Bushire to Bombay, Masulipatam, and Bengal, whence they bring in exchange *Guzerat Kincobs, chintz, long cloths, muslins,* &c.* The King of Persia has lately endeavoured to put a stop to this large exportation of gold and silver, by offering a reward to whoever should weave cloth similar to the Madras long cloths; but the merchants cannot be supposed to interest themselves in an undertaking, which would convert a portion of their profits into another channel. From some cotton bushes near Bushire, they fabricate a kind of cloth nearly equal to the China nankeen. I took notice of some castor-oil shrubs, and found, upon enquiry, that although its medicinal qualities were known, the oil was only used for lamps.

As I brought bills of exchange upon two respectable merchants, and was recommended by the Bombay Government to the attention of the British Resident, I experienced every kind of civility and courtesy a stranger could require. Every one was eager to assist me, and, I easily perceived, were ready and impatient to take advantage of my ignorance. I was invited to an entertainment given by Mihdee Ulee Khan to the principal inhabitants of Bushire; and, as it is descriptive of their manners, I shall give some account of it. About eight o'clock we began to assemble, and as each person entered the room he was saluted with the usual Moosulman compliment. Every thing was ordered in the highest style of Eastern luxury; the Kuleean prepared with rose-water; sweet coffee in golden cups; in short, there was nothing wanting which could contribute to the shew or ornament of the entertainment.† About ten, the supper (the principal meal with the Persians) was

* The following statement of the sums exported from Bushire, was given me by the English broker:—Masulipatam, six lacs and a half; Calcutta, one and a half; Bombay, one and a half; Muscat one, in addition to which half a lac of drugs, &c. is sent to India; and at least one lac may be supposed to be sent without paying any freight.

† The *Kuleean* is constructed on the same principles as the Indian Hookah. The Persians smoke pure tobacco, and never for more than two minutes at a time. The *Kuleeani Nypeech* is smoked for a continuance.

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brought in on trays, one of which was placed before every two persons; then two pilaus, one of fowl, and the other of mutton. In the trays there were about eight dishes, some consisting of curds and cheese, and others of sour and sweet ingredients mixed together. During the time of eating, I remarked that they frequently drank out of two basons, which I conceived to contain soup; but which proved to be a kind of sherbet, supposed to promote digestion: And, indeed, they have need of this drink, for they seldom appear satisfied until they have emptied their trays. The conversation, both before and after supper, was general; every one took his share in the discourse, and some enlivened it with the history of former kings, and remarks on the present government. This is by no means the case if the entertainment be given to a person of superior rank to the entertainer; rich cloths are spread before the door for him to walk upon, and which become the property of his servants; the master of the house seats himself at a great distance from him; if he speaks, the rest of the people speak also, if he is silent, a sullen silence is observed. A great man in Persia, instead of being received with welcome, is received with dread and apprehension, and his departure is anticipated with anxious expectation.

The Persians are firmly persuaded of the truth of judicial astrology, and seldom undertake any business without consulting their astrologers; the most lucrative profession in all Persia. It is useless to attempt convincing them of the fallacy of their belief, for reason seldom conquers prejudice, and in Persia its sway is omnipotent: neither the arguments nor the eloquence of Cicero would have any effect. The King of Persia, I heard, was told by his astrologers, that the safety of his throne would be endangered, if there was not a new king for a certain time. He immediately invested his eldest son with the insignia of royalty, and sent him on an expedition towards Khorasan. By doing this, he propitiated

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his malignant stars; and when the time was passed over, he resumed his imperial splendour.

The mosque at Bushire is excessively mean; I have before remarked that little can be said in praise of any of its buildings; and I could not but smile at the observation of a sailor, who, on seeing the town at a distance, swore very bluntly that we were going on shore to a burying ground: at a distance it has this appearance. The water here is excessively brackish, operating on a stranger like a dose of salts, and even this is procured ten miles from the town. The inhabitants of Bushire, and the neighbouring villages, appear to be a quiet inoffensive race of people, but are intolerably stupid. It is surprising to observe the number of blind people, and persons with sore eyes, in the different parts of the Dushtistan. I attribute this chiefly to the excessive heat and dryness of the air, which, by drying up the moisture of the eye, produces a running, which is increased by the fine particles of sand which are blown into the eye. However this may be, I think I may say, without exaggeration, that at least one third of the inhabitants of the Dushtistan have something the matter with their eyes.*

* The Dushtistan is the land below the hills, which form a barrier for the country of Fars.

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CHAPTER III.

Method of travelling—Respect of the Persians for Major Malcolm, &c. &c.

I FOUND that it would be necessary for me to appear, either in the character of a gentleman, or a beggar; unfortunately I chose the former. As it may be of service to some future traveller, I shall give a short account of the means I followed to accomplish my journey. My attendants were ten in number; a Jilodar, or head groom, two Mihturs, or grooms, two Pesh Khidmuts, servants who prepare your Kuleean, and attend your person, a cook, and four Furash men, who pitch tents, and perform any thing you order. I may remark on the difference between the servants of Persia and India; the former never hesitate to obey you, the latter will seldom perform any thing but their immediate duty. In India it is necessary to have two men to one horse, in Persia one man will take much better care of seven!

The Pesh Khidmuts and Jilodar are mounted on horses, the rest of your servants on mules. As it is the custom for your Pesh Khidmuts to accompany you on all occasions, it is requisite for them to have good clothes, and a respectable appearance; indeed more depends on the appearance of your servants and equipage, than on your own character and conduct. Your Pesh Khidmuts, beside your Kuleean, should carry a Mutaru (or leather skin) of water, and another of wine, and this you should be cautious not to forget, as water is seldom to be procured on your march. Some of your servants can in general sing, or rather chaunt, many of the

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Odes of Hafiz and Sadee; at any rate you should endeavour to get one who can, as it serves to beguile the tediousness of a long march by night.

It is expected (and essentially requisite, should you want assistance) that you should make some kind of present to the head person of the town or village you stop at. The most acceptable presents are shawls, muslins, Kincobs, pistols, watches, satins, velvets, chintz, knives, spying-glasses, &c. and your present should be in proportion to the rank of the receiver, or the extent of your wants. You must be careful in not presenting any thing which is exclusively appropriated to the female dress, being the greatest affront you can possibly offer. A number of persons will be making you presents of fruit, &c. in the expectation of receiving a handsome reward; and should they be disappointed, you may rely on being regarded in a very contemptible light. It is therefore necessary for you to have a few pieces of Qulum-kar (chintz), and coarse broad cloth, to give away to these needy beggars.

Since Major Malcolm's embassy to the Court of Persia, the people of every village have been led to expect so much from European munificence and generosity, that you cannot avoid exceeding the bounds of moderation; the English traveller, however much he may lament this evil, cannot but feel gratified at an impression which reflects so much honour and credit on the British nation. The names of Major Malcolm, and the gentlemen who accompanied him, are mentioned in the liveliest terms of Oriental panegyric; and I do not recollect stopping at a single place, where the inhabitants did not make many eager enquiries after the welfare of Major Malcolm and the gentlemen of his suite. It was out of my power to give them much information; and I suffered not a little in their estimation, when I told them I was unknown to the whole party.

It cannot be expected that I should be informed of the motives

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for his embassy; but if one of them was to conciliate the Persians, and to impress on their minds a just and accurate notion of the power and character of the British nation, no embassy could possibly be attended with more complete success. One embassy had already preceded this, but the principles on which it was conducted were so different, as to make the Persians doubt whether both could come from the same nation.

The success with which Major Malcolm's embassy is universally supposed to have terminated, may be in a great manner attributed to his transacting every thing himself; to his being capable of conversing alike with the peasant and the king; and to his rejecting the intervention of Persian or Indian agency. It requires, perhaps, firmness and resolution to withstand importunity, and to dispense with the services of a useful and able man; yet how satisfactory must be the reflection, that what credit is gained is enjoyed alone, not to be participated with an acknowledged agent. It is a dangerous attempt to employ a native in any other line than his duty; it excites hopes we do not mean to gratify; he is supposed to have an influence he possibly does not possess; and if he has an opportunity of being long useful, he gradually acquires an ascendancy we do not ourselves observe. At best it is a system full of hazard; and it must be admitted, that is a system which may blast the fairest character, and ruin the brightest hopes. Where conciliation is necessary, or where we wish to inspire confidence, the intervention of natives must necessarily defeat our views; it cuts off all kind of intercourse with the inferior classes of people; it is a constant source of suspicion and distrust to those who are entrusted with the affairs of government, and who, of course, will leave no means untried to induce the agent to disclose the secrets of his master.

It is to an observance of a contrary system, that I would attribute the wonderful impression which has been made on the Persians in

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favour of the English character; an impression which bears honourable testimony to the merits of those into whose hands the embassy was committed, and which cannot fail of proving highly satisfactory to the British nation. The Persians were astonished at the information, courtesy, and generosity of the Europeans who had appeared amongst them, so different from what they had observed in their intercourse with the Russians on the borders of the Caspian Sea. But they were more particularly astonished at the knowledge every one appeared to possess of their manners and country; for the Persians are not very inquisitive, and seldom trouble themselves with the history of foreign states. I should not forget to remark, that another subject of surprise was, the embassy not being composed of merchants, who are recorded, in the Shah Ubas Namu, to be the only people who visited Persia.*

Nothing further can be said of this embassy than that its departure was viewed with regret, and that another is most anxiously wished for by every description of people. I do not think that time is likely to efface the impression it has made in Persia, or that any foreign power will supplant us in the esteem and regard of the Persian nation. The Persians have at length learnt, that although we are not Mooslims, we possess more information than themselves; and that though we are rich and powerful, we are not a nation of merchants.†

* See Tavernier's account of the French embassy.

† I beg this may not be misunderstood. The Persians have had little intercourse with Europeans; the little they have had has been with merchants, and they therefore concluded we were all so. However respectable they might be as men, they could give the Persians no notion of our resources and power; they might give just accounts, but the Persians would doubt until their senses convinced them of the truth of what they had heard.

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CHAPTER IV.

Departure for Sheeraz—Dih Hushm—bad Swamp—Revenue—Birasgoon—Stream impregnated with Naphta—Pits—bad Road—beautiful Views—two Hill Forts—large Town of Dires in ruins—curious Custom—Ice and Snow—Appearance of the Mountains—Fort belonging to the Jews—City of Kazroon.

On the 7th of June I set off for Sheeraz, in company with a Qafilu, or caravan, consisting of twenty mules. We arrived at our Munzil-Gah (halting place) before day break, the distance being four Fursukh. I need hardly observe, that the Fursukh is the ancient Parasanga, and is, according to the Persians, twelve thousand paces, perhaps four miles and three quarters.* Chughaduk, our Munzil-Gah, has obtained the rank of Hushm, from possessing a few sheep and fowls; as all villages which have neither cows, sheep, nor fowls, are denominated Dihs. I could not help observing the excellence of our mules, being far superior to any I had seen, and carrying a greater weight than I could have supposed it possible for the animal to carry; the regulated weight is 40 Muni Tubreez,† or 280lbs. and the marches in Persia are from twenty to fifty miles.

* Mr. Greaves makes it three miles, but almost every author uses his own standard.

† In a short paper published at Calcutta, I ventured to suspect the correctness of Colonel Dow's translation of the word Mun (Maund), which he says is never less than thirty-seven pounds. I have now no doubt of the justice of this suspicion. Ferishtu, Colonel Dow's authority, derives his information from Arabian and Persian historians, where the Mun never could signify more than from one to seven pounds. Shurfood Deen Ulee, in his History of Timoor, uses the Arabic Mun, weighing from one to three pounds. The account which Colonel Dow gives of the riches found in India by Mahmood, particularly at Somnat, exceeds all kind of belief; my supposition, on the contrary, brings it within the verge of possibility.

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Our road was tolerably good for the first four miles, but afterwards we had to cross an arm of the sea, which was almost a quicksand. The slightest deviation from the accustomed track, at particular seasons, is inevitable destruction; we contrived to lose the road, but the mules, being left to themselves, soon found the direct path. The governor of Bushire has often intended to render this road safe and passable; he has, however, refrained, from a notion that it was an insurmountable barrier against an enemy; and that, although he were to overcome this difficulty, it would, at any rate, afford him sufficient time to run away. He has more than once proved the justness of his predictions. When Hoosun Qoolee Khan, the brother of the present king, rebelled, and came against Bushire, Sheikh Nasir was determined to signalise himself by a gallant defence of the town; a few pieces of cannon, dug out of the ruins at Reeshire, were filled nearly full of powder, and crammed up to the mouth with stones; these were fired, as often as safety would admit, for two days before the enemy could hear the report: this was to convince Hoosun Qoolee Khan that he was to expect a vigorous defence; the Sheikh's courage, however, left him on the approach of about fifty horsemen, and he precipitately fled on board a vessel which he had prepared for the purpose.

The method of collecting the revenue in this part of the country, and I believe wherever the land is not watered from wells, is of a very singular nature. A cultivator of land pays a rent for all the horses, asses, or oxen he may keep for ploughing; for the former twelve Qooroosh, about twenty shillings a year, and for the latter six Qooroosh or Piastres. The land in the Gurmseer is the property of the government, who may call upon the cultivator for any delicacy or rarity he may possess, in addition to this regulated land rent.* The Sheikh of Bushire farms these rents from government,

* Very different opinions are entertained of the nature of landed property in India. If two gentlemen, who resided many years in India, and whose industry was as conspicuous as their

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and for which he pays four thousand Toomans, or as many guineas. This is supposed to be very low; but the presents, which he is obliged to make to the governor of Sheeraz, more than doubles that sum.

Near our Munzil-Gah were the ruins of two forts, one of them built by Sheikh Nasir, father to the Sheikh of Bushire. They never could have been of much strength; the one built by Sheikh Nusir was destroyed by the people of Tungisteer, shortly after he was defeated by Loot Ulee Khan. Our route was N. N. E. thermometer 98, 104.

8th. We left our ground about eight, and reached our Munzil-Gah by six the next morning, the distance being eight Fursukhs, The road was good, and on the left and right we saw a number of villages. Birasgoon is a very large village, surrounded by a wall, and carries on a considerable trade in cotton, wheat, barley, and tobacco with Bushire. To-day (9th) it was exceedingly warm, and the air from the hills excessively hot. Route N. by E. thermometer 102-4.

9th. We quitted our halting ground about eleven at night, and immediately began to ascend the hills over bad and rocky ground. We crossed a narrow stream so strongly saturated with naphtha, that at the distance of at least a mile we were sensible of a most offensive stench. Our Munzil-Gah was at Dalikee (four Fursukhs), abounding in gardens of date trees, which afford a slight degree of shelter from the scorching rays of the sun. To the southward of the town are several springs of warm water, and to the north-east a small stream, where I would advise all travellers to encamp, as the intense heat of the plain obliged us to strike our tents. This stream issues from a cleft at the bottom of a hill, and affords excellent

abilities were eminent, could not leave this subject beyond dispute, it surely is not likely to be determined by persons who labour under a variety of disadvantages. In Persia the matter is beyond dispute; *land may be sold and purchased by every class of people.*

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water to the inhabitants, a luxury not very common in this part of Persia; near it is a stone building, apparently of European architecture; and upon my noticing this, I was informed, that many years ago it was inhabited by an European stationed here for the purpose of forwarding packets from Sheeraz to Reeshire.

Dalikee is a respectable village, protected by a fort tenable against horse; it was formerly under the government of Sheikh Nasir, who resigned it in favour of Wulee Moohummud Khan. In the evening I rode to some pits called Nufti Seeah, and found them to contain black naphtha. There were a number of pits; and the ground all about so tenacious, as to make it no easy matter for my horse to extricate himself from it. It is used by the Persians as we are told it was in hell, for lamps,* and occasionally is given to their camels. Our route was north-east, thermometer 104.

10th. The mules left our ground by ten, and reached Koonar Tukhtu (four Fursukhs) by five in the morning. Our route this night lay over the hills, and the road was the whole way dangerously frightful. We had to pass several places, not above three feet broad, over deep and rocky precipices; the roar of the rushing waters, and the stupendous heighth of the mountains, presented a scene terrific and sublime. The ascent was frequently so steep, that the mules who had gained the summit appeared to be directly above our heads, and you involuntarily trembled lest they should fall and crush you with their weight. We were more than three hours ascending the Kohi Mullooh, or hill of Mullooh, the whole of which time the horses were their own guides; we contented ourselves with clinging to their manes, the best and only safe way of travelling over such bad and rocky ground. I often preferred

* ———————— from the arched roof,
Pendant by subtle magic, many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets, fed
With Naphtha and Asphaltus, yielded light
As from a sky. MILTON, Book 1st.

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walking; but my companion, who was neither young nor active, and who even here could not keep himself awake, rode, and fell four times. We crossed a tolerably broad and rapid stream at the bottom of one of the hills, over which a bridge has been erected, but not quite finished, by Hajee Moohummud Husun. Owing to the rapidity of the current, this stream was not passable in winter; but the public and liberal spirit of two merchants has rendered this part of the road free from all hazard or danger; and travellers are more indebted to the Hajee, and his nephew, Hajee Ubdool Humeed, than to any of the kings of Persia from Shah Ubas to A Moohummud.

We found it adviseable to procure sixteen musketeers as a guard, owing to the road having been lately infested by a banditti, who had plundered a caravan a few nights before. They could not have chosen a better place, as the narrowness of the road would not admit of more than one person passing at a time, and the hills on either side afforded them excellent lurking places to fire from with safety. Although we were more than thirty persons, armed with swords, matchlocks, or pistols, I am almost convinced that five resolute robbers might have plundered our caravan. However, we escaped all danger; and the romantic scenery around us, whenever we could contemplate it with safety, amply compensated for the fatigue, the hazards, and the difficulties we had encountered. Frequently we lost sight of the moon, and as often did we appear to be on a level with it. Looking down from an immense height, we beheld its pale beams playing, as it were, amid the gurgling waters; the noise of tinkling bells, the cries of the muleteers, and the reverberated echoes of the matchlocks, (for we kept up an incessant firing), was a scene so novel, and so unexpected, that I insensibly forgot the difficulties we had overcome, and the dangers we had to surmount. The sensations which I felt when the moon, as it often happened, burst from a black cloud, and shed the

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fulness of her lustre on a ruggid hill, covered sometimes with the almond, or with many a waving shrub; or when her silver beams fell on a rapid torrent, as it rolled impetuous down many a height: these sensations convinced me that I had formed a feeble notion of the awful grandeur of nature. I must confess that I am unable to do justice to the sublimity of the views which presented themselves on every side; but so strongly are they impressed on my mind, that no time or distance will ever obliterate them from my recollection.

Some years ago a stream ran by the village of Koonar Tukhtu, but owing to the disturbances which distract this country, the channel has been either choaked up or diverted. Our route was north by east; and the thermometer, at three o'clock, in a tent, 110.

11th. We quitted our ground at ten, and arrived at a Surae (three Fursukhs) by three in the morning. Our road was as bad as the preceding night, but the distance being less, we did not experience so much inconvenience. We again passed a small river, which I learn rises near Kazroon, and running through the country of the Roodhillus, falls into the sea near Bundureek. Most of the streams between Bushire and Sheeraz are lost amidst the mountains before they can reach the sea. We halted at an excellent Surae, built by Moohummud Hosein Khan, son of Zal Khan, governor of Khisht.* His father is highly respected; so much so, as to have excited the jealousy of Hajee Ibrahim, the late minister, who caused him to be blinded, and his tongue to be cut out. He was, however, continued in his government of Khisht.

Near the Surae, on the summit of a hill, is a fort called Furhad, formerly possessed by a banditti, who for a long time bid defiance to the partial attacks of the inhabitants of the village, and to the

* Suraes, or Karuwan Suraes, are built for the accommodation of travellers. They are more commodious than the Choultries on the Coromandel coast, containing a variety of apartments. They generally form a square, with a range of rooms on each side, behind which are sometimes excellent stables. It is customary for the muleteer to collect all the dirt which has been made, and on his leaving the Surae, to set it on fire, so that the stables are kept tolerably clean.

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troops of government. It was at last taken, and nearly destroyed. To the north-west is another fort, which was likewise a rendezvous for robbers; it is in excellent order, but its inhabitants have been at several times entirely extirpated. To day, at three *p. m.* the thermometer was 97. It would be impossible to describe our route, as our winding round the hills directed us to every point in the compass.

12th. This evening we quitted our ground at sun-set, that we might gain a pass resorted to by robbers. This hill is notorious for thieves: indeed in a country infested with them, it would be surprising were it not, as a person well acquainted with the windings and paths of the mountains, might with impunity attack, and most probably defeat, a whole caravan. Two Fursukhs from Kazroon are the ruins of a very large town called Dires. The marks of its former splendour and magnificence are still discoverable; and the faint traces of mouldering walls and broken pillars, afford a melancholy but impressive proof of the injustice and oppression of the government. Its inhabitants abandoned their homes and houses in the time of Kureem Khan; some fled to Bushire, and others to the parts adjacent.* A few scattered hovels still insult its former splendour; and the people preserve the singular custom of not permitting a Moordu-Sho (a washer of dead bodies) either to inhabit or enter their village without being required. Whenever a person dies, they send to Kazroon for a Moordu-Sho; and the instant he has performed his duty, they drive him away with stones and sticks, conceiving that if they hold any intercourse with him, that they will soon themselves require his good offices.

On awakening this morning, I received an acceptable present of

* The memory of Kureem Khan is venerated by the Persians. He was excessively liberal, and liberality in Persia is the first of all human virtues: but his memory is obscured by the commission of many cruelties; yet if we judge of him as the Persians do, by a comparison with his successors, he was feelingly alive to the calls of humanity.

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fruit, ice, and snow; the thermometer was then 104. I understand that ice and snow are sold all the year in the market at Kazroon, and are even occasionally conveyed to Bushire on mules. Our journey, for these last two days, has been strongly indicative of one of those violent convulsions of nature which now and then threaten a country with total annihilation. Mountains heaped on mountains, and stones piled on stones, almost realize the fable of the giants attempting to storm the imperial throne of Jupiter. The mountains are very irregular; and it is no uncommon thing to observe an immense hill three or more miles distant from a chain of mountains. The vallies which we passed appeared to be very fertile, many of them were cultivated with wheat and rice. Our Munzil-Gah was near a very excellent garden full of cypress and fruit trees.

In the evening I rode to a fort, called the Fort of the Jews, and believed to have been possessed by them. How true this may be I shall not take upon myself to determine; it is now converted into a corn-field, and from an Arabic inscription which I saw there, I would rather suppose it belonged to the faithful. I saw the remains of a canal, which was conducted from a hill about two or three miles from Kazroon, and which must have supplied the city with water. The method of conducting it is singular: Pits, at the distance of two or three yards, are dug to an equal depth, the earth on each side hollowed out, and the centre is excavated to connect one pit with another.

Kazroon is a town of considerable extent; many parts of it are, however, in ruins, and the wall is in a decayed and falling state. The Dushistan is considered to extend, I believe, to Kazroon, though, properly speaking, it ends at the foot of the hills. I was desirous of visiting the baths, and requested permission of the owner, which was readily granted: but in the evening, as I was preparing to go into the town, I learnt that the people might

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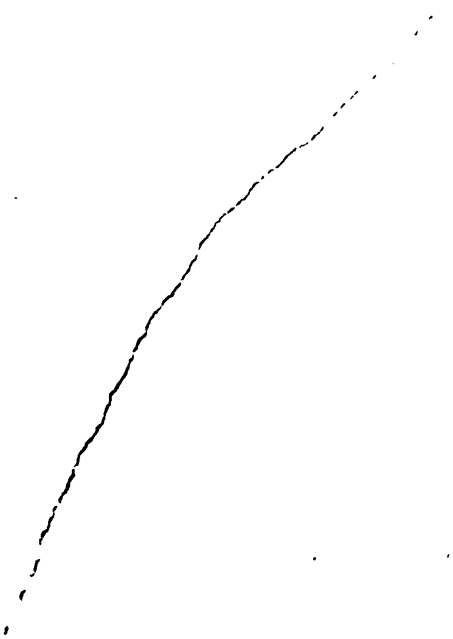
possibly prevent my using the bath, from a notion that the *Humam* would be contaminated by a Christian, and that no purification could exempt them from pollution. This is only a prejudice of the vulgar, who conceive that if you touch them they are *Nugis*, defiled; the better sort of people will eat with you, and exchange Kuleeans without any hesitation.



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CHAPTER V.

Account of one of Nadir Shah's Descendants—Steps cut in the Rock—View of a Hill on Fire—fine Valley of Dusturjan—my Companion robbed—Rahdars—bad Road near Sheeraz—Arrival at Sheeraz.

To-day, June 13th, we halted. I was introduced to a most extraordinary person, a lineal descendant of Nadir Shah, who had been an independent governor of a district in Khorasan. He had experienced almost all the vicissitudes which could fall to the lot of man, and was, at this time, Meer Akhor, or head groom, to Mihdee Ulee Khan, on a salary of twenty piastres a month. He owed his misfortunes to the treachery of a friend, who had brought to his assistance a body of troops, but who attacked him in the night, and cut off his only son. At two different periods he was confined in a well for two and then three years, and was indebted for his escape each time to the disturbances which distracted Khorasan. He has made some attempts to regain his country; and sometime ago endeavoured to persuade the merchants of Bushire to lend him twenty thousand piastres, on a promise of being repaid ten-fold, should his enterprise succeed. The freedom of his language astonished me more than any thing, for neither the Persian government, nor the governor of Kazroon, escaped his censures, although there were many persons present who would doubtless repeat his conversation. I was glad to see him depart. He appeared to be very illiterate, his brother completely so: indeed both of them seemed better qualified for the superintendance of horses, than for the management of an extensive and populous district. But learn-

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ing does not seem in the East a necessary qualification for government. Timoor, notwithstanding the assertions of Messrs. White and Davy, and the still stronger ones of a late writer,* was undoubtedly an *illiterate barbarian;* and the memory of Kureem Khan labours under a charge of similar ignorance.

We were greatly incommoded to-day by whirlwinds, which, blowing up the dust, came on with such velocity as to overset a tent. Thermometer 104.

14th. We quitted our ground about nine, and arrived at a Surae, situated on the middle of the Peeru Zun, by four in the morning. Our march was five Fursukhs. In ascending the hill called the Dokhtur, we were again indebted to Hajee Moohummud Husun's liberality for a safe and good road. Over the worst part he has cut a long and broad flight of steps out of the solid rock, and has built a parapet over a deep and dangerous precipice. To give some notion of the badness of the roads, I need only mention, that the Hajee found the loss which he suffered annually from the mules falling, and being dashed to pieces at this place, was greater than the expence he would incur in making this part of the road void of all danger. We crossed a long and narrow bridge built over a marsh, and at a distance, on our right, saw a large lake. The Peeru Zun, or the hill called the Old Woman, is entirely covered with wild almond trees. Thermometer 98.

15th. Our march was this night very short, being only three Fursukhs. We had to ascend the remaining part of the Peeru Zun, which was rather an arduous undertaking, as the loose stones, with which this hill is entirely covered, afforded no footing to our horses. On gaining the top of the hill, we beheld a sight which filled me with astonishment. It was a hill entirely on fire; and

* Captain Francklin assures us (Life of George Thomas) that he has in his possession a *book written* by *Timoor;* the world must be anxious to see so singular a production.

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which I learnt, upon enquiry, is the method the Persians take for making charcoal. The sight was as unexpected as it was grand. To-day our encampment was in a plain of verdant grass, in which were about two hundred horses belonging to the Prince of Sheeraz: a stream intersects the meadow, which is the cause of the excessive verdure of this delightful spot. No one but the person who has travelled over dreary and barren heaths, until his eyes were weary of viewing the universal sameness of every object, can form a notion of the gratification I enjoyed on beholding an immense plain covered with verdure of every description. The tops of the hills were covered with the almond and the vine. I turned towards the mountains we had passed, conscious that they were the cause of my present enjoyment.

Dusturjan is a very large town, surrounded by a good wall, and is accounted one of the most delightful places in Persia. Near the town is a cavern, where the people take refuge in time of danger; and its almost inaccessible situation affords them excellent security. My companion was robbed in the night of twenty pieces of chintz, and in the morning I found him almost distracted. I discovered that, to escape paying the duties, he had concealed them in some horse furniture. He endeavoured to excuse himself, by saying that the duties would not amount to a Piastre; and on being told that the smallness of the sum made him the more culpable, he at length declared, that to pay duties was contrary to the tenets of his religion. I had the curiosity to investigate the truth of this assertion; and I cannot conceal my surprise at relating, that I found him to be right. Although Persia abounds with robbers, great precaution is taken against them. Rahdars, or guards, are stationed on the road, whose duty it is to afford protection from one Rahdaree to another, and who levy a trifling duty on each mule carrying merchandize. The governor of a district is answer-

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able for all the robberies committed in the country under his management; and, I believe, is obliged to make good the loss a merchant may have sustained. Thermometer 95.

16th. Our mulateer lost two mules, which occasioned some delay; we left our ground, however, by nine, and reached a Surae, built by a son of the late Wuzeer, by three in the morning, the distance being three Fursukhs. The Surae, which affords excellent accommodation for travellers, is not finished according to the founder's intention; he fell a victim, with his father and whole family, to the king's supicious jealousy before the work was entirely completed.* In the four largest rooms are fire places; and behind are stables, which would contain nearly a thousand mules. Our route was at the bottom of a hill, through a forest said to abound with lions: we saw none. Thermometer 82.

17th. We left our ground at sun-set, and reached the Bagh Chiragh (a garden so called) by three in the morning; the distance was seven Fursukhs. The road, even so near to the former capital of Persia, was excessively bad, indeed nearly as rugged as the hills we had crossed. Our route was at the bottom of the hills, nearly east. As I was to be received by the son of Sheikh Nasir, and to be conducted to a house which had been prepared for me, I was obliged to remain encamped until the following day. In the morning (19th) I was met by the Sheikh's son, and accompanied

* The fate of Hajee Ibrahim verifies the common remark, Confer a favour on a tyrant, and your reward will be death. I have heard, from undoubted authority, that the minister was aware of the designs against him, but declared that he would not imbrue his hands again in blood; he could have easily destroyed the king, but he relied on his gratitude, and conceived that the reward for giving away a crown, would, at least, be mercy. He experienced the contrary; and his women even participated in the fate of their master. But the systematic treachery of the minister did not deserve a better fate: Hajee Ibrahim experienced the same ingratitude he had shewn to Lootf Ulee Khan. He had been raised to his situation by the family of the *Zunds*, and he destroyed it; he was the principal instrument of the elevation of the *Jaggars*, and they destroyed him.

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him to his father's house, where I remained till eleven at night. Nearly the whole of this time I was under the necessity of sitting according to the Persian custom; and the agony I suffered can only be conceived by those who have endured a similar penance.*

* My companion, whom I took with me to explain any customs, &c. I might not understand, was perpetually lecturing me on my method of sitting, and repeating the following verse, the only one I believe he knew:

تواضع زکردن فرازان نکوست
گدا کر تواضع کند خوي اوست

" Courtesy in a person of distinction is a virtue; it is the business of a beggar to be so."

Which, in the way he applied, meant that I was to place my legs so as to sit on my heels, the most respectful posture you can be in; to enforce this, he told me, that whenever the king relieved himself from this painful position, he cried out, " Goostakhee maf, pardon my presumption:" but why I could never understand.

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CHAPTER VI.

Reception of an honorary Dress—Description of Sheeraz—European Accounts—Climate—great Exaggeration—Bazar—Mosque.

THE day after my arrival, the Prince Chiragh Ulee Khan, and all the principal people, went out of the city to receive a Khilaut, (an honorary dress) which had been sent by the king, along with the prince's mother and younger brother. I suppose about twenty thousand people attended this ceremony from necessity, or accompanied it from curiosity. The prince was met by his brother, and, after some compliments, alighted at a tent, and was invested with the honorary dress. The governors of districts then offered their congratulations on his having received so distinguished a mark of his sovereign's favour; after which the cavalcade set out on its return to the city. The reverence which the governors of provinces affected to entertain for the young princes was highly ridiculous; and the absurd praises of their beauty, their gracefulness, and excellent horsemanship, must have appeared fulsome even to a Persian. All the handicrafts-men were in select bodies, carrying with them small glass tubes filled with sugar, which, as the prince approached, they broke and scattered upon the ground.* All the shops in the Bazar were shut upon this occasion, and the next day, in commemoration of the Urbyn, when the head of Husun was lodged in the same grave as his body.†

Sheeraz, I am apt to believe, will disappoint those who have

* This is an old Persian custom, and is noticed by several of the poets.

† See the pathetic account of the fate of the sons of Ulee in Ockley's History of the Saracens.

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imagined it a populous and noble city. "It is worth seeing, but not worth going to see." The town is by no means so large as is reported; it is surrounded by a wall, tenable against cavalry, and has six gate-ways. Many of the streets are so narrow, that an ass loaded with wood stops your way if you are on horseback (I speak from experience); and the houses are generally mean and dirty. But we now see Sheeraz to great disadvantage, A Moohummud, the late king, having destroyed an excellent stone wall, with very strong bastions, which was deemed by the Persians almost impregnable, and several of the best houses in the place: in his time it was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, which he filled up on destroying the fort.*

Notwithstanding the concurring praises of every Persian author, I very much doubt whether Sheeraz ever merited the extravagant commendations which have been lavished on it. It is impossible for us to say, that the descriptions given of it by Sadee and Hafiz may not be exactly true; but we may reasonably suspect them of a strong prejudice in favour of their native city, and of enthusiasm, the usual characteristic of a good poet. Although the most magnificent and substantial buildings are subject to decay, climates seldom undergo any great alteration; and though Hafiz tells us it is superior to any in the world, I must add, that during my residence there, the thermometer was often at 100, and never under 90.† I have not forgot the caution of Hafiz, although I have not observed it:

شیراز و آب رکني و آن باد خوش نسیم
عیبش مکن که خال رخ هفت کشور است

"Do not find fault with *Sheeraz*, nor with the waters of *Rooknee*,

* Captain Francklin says it was sixty feet wide and twenty deep.

† Captain Francklin mentions that the thermometer in summer is never more than 77. I am sorry to differ from him; my thermometer I found to be correct, and, from daily observations, I am confident it was never under 90.

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nor its pleasant breezes, for this city is a mole upon the cheek of the whole universe!"

Travellers who visited Persia long before the ravages of time could have entirely defaced the marks of sumptuous edifices, speak neither of the extensive ruins nor splendid monuments of Sheeraz. Olearius, who was in Persia in the year 1615, says, that Sheeraz did not contain more than 10,000 houses, but that its ruins extended two miles.* Herbert, who accompanied Sir Thomas Sherley into Persia in the year 1625, remarks, that the circumference was eight or nine miles, that there were fifteen mosques, one of which had two pillars as high as St. Paul's.† Dr. Fryer speaks of Sheeraz as containing some fine markets. Thevenot informs us, that its circumference is two hours walk;‡ and Tavernier calls it a mean dirty place, which was once surrounded by a wall of mud, then fallen down.

It appears, I think, from the varying accounts of European travellers, that Sheeraz is undeserving of the praises which have been so liberally lavished on it in the East, and so credulously believed by many of the admirers of Oriental learning in the West.

The founder of this city is unknown; some have conjectured Cyrus; the Persians say Jumshyd: and at this distance of time I despair of resolving the difficulty. Others have derived it from the word *Sheer*,§ which signifies milk, and have suggested many other fanciful derivations, which it would be useless to insert. I should suppose the town to be about five miles in circumference; it took me a little more than an hour to walk my horse round it. They have here a glass-house and a foundery, both worth seeing. The bottoms which they blow, of glass, for the Kuleeans, have a curious

* Travels and Voyages to the East Indies, p. 750.

† It is rather singular that this has not been noticed by some other person. Herbert's Travels, p. 60.

‡ Thevenot, p. 124.

§ Lexic. Geog. Ferrar. verb. Schirasium.

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appearance to a stranger; they are ornamented in the inside with representations of trees, flowers, &c. and sometimes with small medallions. When the glass is just blown, they fix them in the bottom with small pincers; and so neatly are the pieces joined together, as to entirely escape observation. Some of the artificers are ingenious, able men; but their qualifications are actually misfortunes, as they are compelled to work for the principal people in the city without the smallest hope of being recompensed for their labour, or being repaid for the expences they have incurred. This was really the situation of a very able gun-smith, who made pistols nearly equal to those in Europe.

The Vakeel's Bazar is a most noble work; it is built of brick, arched, and covered in like Exeter Change. It probably extends half a mile, and is, I should suppose, fifty feet wide. They have a story, that Kureem Khan riding through it soon after the work was completed, saw a nail driven into the wall, and detecting the offender, caused his head to be struck off. It has a grand appearance at night, when it is lighted up; and as every trade has a separate quarter, you know where to resort to for what you may require. This custom (common all over the East), of keeping persons of two trades separate from each other, is attended with much inconvenience in large and populous cities, where you may be obliged to send a considerable distance for the most trifling article. Many of the other markets are very handsome, but none so magnificent as the Vakeel's.*

The outside of the principal mosque is very handsome, and, like the generality of Eastern buildings, is ornamented with painted tiles with Arabic inscriptions. It is said that the stone above the door was so weighty, that it was found impossible to raise it, when the Vakeel, assisting the workmen, made them exert themselves so

* Kureem Khan never assumed the title of king, but that of Vakeel, which may signify a regent.

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much, that they raised it immediately. Sheeraz is full of such kind of stories of the Vakeel, who is the only prince I never heard abused.* His cruelties are lost in the remembrance of the obligations he conferred upon the people of Sheeraz, and by a contrast with the enormities of his successors. The Mudrusus (colleges) are decaying fast; and the revenues, which are allotted for their support, are generally appropriated to other purposes. The squares before the governor's and prince's palaces are large; and the houses near it appear to be the best in the city.

At least a fourth part of Sheeraz is entirely in ruins; the quarter where the Laks resided, to the number of ten thousand, was destroyed by A Moohummud. They have a very popular, but I believe a most unfoundey story, concerning these people, who are said to meet once a year, with their families, to celebrate an abominable feast. It resembles the account given by Dr. Fryer of the feast of the Gubrs.† I know not where he could have received his account, but all my enquiries (and the Mahomedans are as bigotted as the doctor) persuaded me of the falsehood of his relation.

* He is said to have ornamented the city with so many buildings merely for the purpose of employing the poor.

† Travels into Persia, p. 266. Suspicion appears to be natural to man: privacy implies guilt, and opens a wide field for conjectures, which are soon advanced as positive truths. I greatly suspect that in the accounts we have received of the mysteries of former times, this has often been the case.

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CHAPTER VII.

Reception of the Prince—Queen—Visit paid to the Governor—Respect shewn to him—Presents—Avarice of the Governor.

A FEW days after the prince's and queen's arrival at Sheeraz, the astrologers pronounced, that it would be at such a period a lucky hour for their making a public entrance into the city. They had hitherto resided at one of the gardens near Sheeraz: great preparation was made for the occasion; all the principal people had to go out of the town, as a mark of respect to the young prince; and their wives had to shew the same attention to the queen his mother.* The cavalcade was conducted as before; the women were mounted on horses, which they rode like men, the most natural and safest seat for a lady.

Shortly after my arrival, I was introduced by the Sheikh of Bushire to the governor, Chiragh Ulee Khan. He was very polite and civil; and, during the time I was there, threw off a great deal of that supercilious and insulting condescension which the Persians of rank in general affect. The governors of the different subordinate districts stood before him, at a considerable distance, exposed to the sun, and appeared to be in continual alarm of giving offence. The room in which he sat was neither magnificent nor large; indeed the only circumstance which declared his rank, was the

* This ceremony in Persia is called Peeshwaz, in India Istuqbal. Before any person of rank enters a city, it is usual for him to be received by a deputation: if his rank is very considerable, the Peeshwaz is sent to a great distance. A thousand men were sent to meet the prince half way between Isphahan and Sheeraz, one hundred miles.

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trembling looks of his visitors. It will strike persons, who live under a free government, that the custom of enforcing respect, and commanding reverence must invariably create dislike and aversion; and that the only method of ensuring respect, is to deserve it. In despotic governments, however, it may be perhaps necessary to command attention. If, according to Montesquieu, the principle of despotic monarchies is fear, the Persian government is right in inspiring its subjects with a dread of power. They have succeeded in this to the very summit of their hopes; the miseries which the inhabitants of Sheeraz have individually suffered, render them callous to the afflictions of their neighbours. The only principle of their life is to avoid giving offence, or to afford even a handle for persecution.

It is the custom in Persia to make a Pesh Kush (present) to any superior who may have assisted you either by his countenance or authority. And their rapacity and avarice are generally in proportion to the value of the favour they have conferred, or to the dignity of their situations. It was with difficulty I could satisfy the governor of Sheeraz; who, through the medium of the Sheikh of Bushire (as I afterwards discovered), informed me whether my presents were commensurate to his expectations. Unfortunately for me, he had at this time to make presents to the prince, the queen, and several of their principal attendants, which possibly might make him more rapacious than at any other period. I was obliged to part with many things I intended for myself; but *multa gemens*. It is surprising to what a degree of meanness the Persian noblemen will descend to upon these occasions. They generally contrive you shall know their wants, the presents they require, and the value of your gifts. Among themselves it is common to return a present because it is not sufficiently valuable; and the donor is then obliged to add a more sumptuous offering to excuse this heinous offence.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Persian Gardens—Description of a Sohbut—Hafizeeu—taking out a Fal—perversion of the Verses of Hafiz—Huftun—Portraits of Hafiz and Sadee—Tomb of Sadee—Dil Gosha—Juhan Nooma—Kolahi Ferungee—Tukhti Zujureeu.

The gardens about Sheeraz are much celebrated; but the striking uniformity of long walks and narrow alleys is sure to displease European taste. You may, perhaps, walk a quarter of a mile, and on either side not have a view of a few yards. Yet the Persians delight in visiting these gardens: any thing delights them; and a running stream almost makes them frantic. Nor is this to be wondered at; it is here that they relieve themselves from the anxieties and drudgery of business, and enjoy their Sohbuts. The day is passed in smoking, in the amusement of fishing, or in listening to the odes of various poets: night frees them from restraint; if they drink, the glass circulates without apprehension; nor do the ruby lips of the accomplished yielding beauty hesitate to sip the sparkling liquor of Sheeraz. I believe this to be the utmost extent of a Persian's desire of happiness, the sublimest notion he can form of human enjoyment.*

During my residence at Sheeraz, I saw little worthy of entitling it to the lavish praises of its inhabitants, who, like sa-

* I speak generally; of course there will be found some who have a more elevated notion of the nature of man.

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vagse in possession of a rarity, can conceive none other in the world.*

" Joy be to Sheeraz and its *unrivalled* borders;
" O heaven preserve it from decay!"

Is the pious prayer of Hafiz, but it is likewise the prayer of an enthusiast. The tomb of this celebrated poet is of white marble, built by the munificence of the Vakeel, and is situated in a small garden called the Hafizeeu. On the tablet are two of his odes, very beautifully cut; a number of tombs and graves are adjacent, but none of them deserving notice, either for the beauty of the building, or the celebrity of the deceased. A few Durweeshes have taken up their abode at this place, where they chaunt the odes of Hafiz, and daily visit his tomb. I was surprised that they did not beg of me, and attributed it to their aversion to hold any kind of intercourse with an infidel. I think they misinterpret Hafiz; it is to be hoped so for the sake of the poet. His Deewan, or Collection of Odes, is supposed to contain inimitable passages of mystic adoration; and it is the custom, on any urgent occasion, to take a Fal (omen) out of his works, to ascertain the probability of success or disappointment.† They propitiate Hafiz with such verses as these:

اي حافظ شيرازي
كاشف هررازي

" O Hafiz of Sheeraz, the divulger of all secrets," &c.

* Isfuhan nisfi Juhoon, " Isphahan equal to half the world," is a title which the Persians have given to that city; and Hafiz says, Sheerazi ma uz Isfuhoon bih, " Our Sheeraz is superior to Isphahan."

† The same custom was formerly observed in England in respect to the Virgilian lots. See the two curious passages chosen by Charles I. and Lord Falkland. Johnson's Poets, vol. i. p. 10. The passage which procured the poet's interment was singular; the one chosen for Nadir Shah not less so: both of them probably selected for the occasion.

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And in my collection of his poems, there is a long account of the way a Fal, or Istukharu, is to be taken.

One of his verses contains a natural desire, of possessing wine of two years age, and a mistress of fourteen; which is, by the wisdom of his commentators, perverted into a sublime allusion to Moohummud and the Koran.* It would be a tedious and useless task to examine the merits of the question, but the verses of Hafiz flow so easy and unconstrained, that I doubt whether he ever troubled himself to recollect that Moohummud was forty years old before he commenced his prophetic mission, and that he was two years in delivering the inspired work. Sir William Jones quotes this verse as one that would only bear a literal interpretation; but what beauties will not a skilful commentator discover?

The Huftun, one of the gardens near Sheeraz, contains the remains of Sooltan Sooja, and has, on one side of it, a small building, ornamented with a variety of pictures. I left Gabriel, Moses, and the Prophet, to view the portraits of Hafiz and Sadee. The latter is drawn as an old man, with a silver beard; and the former in the bloom of youth, with a fine ruddy complexion. He was originally drawn without mustachios; but some painter, taking offence at this appearance of want of manhood, supplied the defect, and has entirely disfigured his countenance. Hafiz is dressed more like a woodman than a poet: and, had I not expected to see his portrait, I should have taken him for a labouring peasant. In this building they have likewise the picture of three elephants, sent by Tippoo Sultan to the King of Persia, ill drawn, and out of proportion.

The tomb of Sadee is situated near a small village. Kureem

* مي دو ساله ومعشوق چاردہ ساله
همين بس است مرا صحبت صغير وكبير

The wine two years old signifies the Koran, and chardu becomes forty by dividing the syllables, and multiplying them $4 \times 10 = 40$.

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Khan spent ten thousand piastres in repairing and embellishing the building, which contains the grave of the learned Sheikh; but since his time it has fallen into decay, and is now only worthy of notice for possessing, or rather having possessed, the remains of this celebrated poet.* Sadee has written, in the Boostan, a beautifnl epitaph for himself; but the Persians wanted the taste to inscribe it upon his tomb:

الا اي كه بر خاك ما بكندري — مجاگ غيرنران كه ياد آوري
كه كرخاك شد سعدي اورا چه غسم — كه درزند كي خاك بودست اسم
به پچار كي تن فرا خاك داد — دكر كرد عالم بر آمد چو باد
بي بر نيايد كه خاكش خورد — دكر بارة باد مش بي لم برد
مكرتا كلستان معي شكفت — برد ميچ بلبل جنين خوش نگفت
عجب‌ەكر بمير و جنين بلبلي — كه بر استخو انش نروید گلي

"O passenger! who walkest over my grave, think of the virtuous "persons who have gone before me. What has Sadee to appre- "hend from being turned into dust? he was but earth when alive. "He humbled himself to the ground, and, like the wind, he en- "compassed the whole world. He will not continue dust long, "for the winds will scatter him over the whole universe. Yet as "long as the garden of science has bloomed, not a nightingale has "warbled so sweetly in it. It would be strange if such a nightin- "gale should die, and not a rose grow upon its grave!"†

* Tavernier says his tomb was in a mosque.

† A similar thought is to be found in Dryden.

I beg no pity for this mouldering clay,
For if you give it burial, there it takes
Possession of your earth;
If burnt, and scattered in the air, the winds
That strew my dust, diffnse my royalty,
And spread me o'er your clime; for where one atom
Of mine shall light, know there Sebastian reigns.

Sadee's prophecy may remind us of Horace's, lib. ii. ode 20; or of Ovid's Jamque opus exegi, &c.

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Near this is a very curious Chushmu, or canal full of fish, which flows from the hill, apparently through an excavated channel.* I was surprised at not meeting with a Durweesh at Sadee's tomb; but though his works are much admired, he does not meet with that degree of veneration and respect which is paid to the memory of Hafiz.

The Dil Goosha (*heart expanding*) is near this, and is the best garden without the city. It is ornamented with some handsome buildings; a stream runs through it, which descends in falls, and the prospect here is more extensive than at any other garden. The Juhan Nooma contains several handsome buildings, particularly one, which is very magnificent. Near to this is the Kolahi Firungee, which derives its name from a building which the Persians say resembles the hat of Europeans, and another known by the name of the Tukhti Qujeereeu. These gardens in general abound in flowers and fruit trees; and the cypress flourishes here in the greatest perfection. None of them appeared to me to be well attended; many of the walks were impassable from the luxuriant growth of the trees; and the flower-beds and fruit-trees appeared to be almost choaked up with weeds. They are rented by persons, whose interest it is to employ as few labourers as possible. The prince's garden, in the city, I thought superior to any that grace the entrance into Sheeraz; indeed he has robbed all the other gardens of their choicest trees to improve his own. Before I conclude this chapter, it may be worth while to remark, that the Abi-Roknabad is a contemptible little stream, and is not, after it has been joined by many other streams which flow from the hills, at any place six feet broad. Such consequence can poets give to trifling subjects! I entered Sheeraz with a determination to be

* Every traveller speaks of this curious building; you descend by a flight of seventy steps to the water; there are recesses for you to sit in, where you may smoke, and enjoy a very different climate to that of Sheeraz.

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pleased; there is a degree of enthusiasm, which you feel on visiting a place you have long known at a distance, that ensures a favourable reception to every thing you may behold. You recognise objects with the cordiality of an old acquaintance; and although every thing is novel, you are not indebted to tiresome explanations for a knowledge of their minutest beauties. Under such a prepossession I entered Sheeraz; but whether my expectations were originally too high I cannot determine; I was, however, disappointed.

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CHAPTER IX.

Persian Method of quartering their Troops and Servants—Celebration of the Death of Omar—Reverence paid to Ali.

While at Sheeraz, I was witness to a scene which appears conformable to the customs of Persia. A few days after the prince's arrival, the troops which had accompanied him from Tuhran, and his servants, were directed to provide themselves with houses in the city. They accordingly divided themselves into parties of eight or ten, and whenever they determined on a house, turned out its possessor. My neighbour, an unfortunate Sy,yud,* was so unlucky as to have a good house. Not content with driving the man, his wife, and family into the streets, they seized on the little furniture he had, and treated his frequent appeals to Ali with shameful irreverence. He went and made a complaint to the governor; but all the consolation he got was, that he would soon have his house again.

About the middle of this month the Persians celebrated the death of the Calif Omar. They erected a large platform, on which they fixed an image, disfigured and deformed as much as possible. Addressing themselves to the image, they began to revile it for having supplanted Ali, the lawful successor of Moohummud; at length, having exhausted all their expressions of abuse, they suddenly attacked the image with stones and sticks, until they had shattered it into pieces. The inside was hollow, and full of sweet-

* A Sy,yud is descended from the prophet. The Persians will not admit the claims of the Sy,yuds of India.

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meats, which were greedily devoured by the mob who attended the ceremony.*

The Arabs, who are Soones, cannot refrain from shewing their displeasure at this absurd custom, taxing the Sheeas with worshiping Ali instead of venerating the prophet. This is almost true of the poor people, with them Ali is every thing, they conceive that his name cannot be invoked in vain. I was told by a Persian that he once saw a lion, but that he cried out the name of Ali, and the lion ran away! Their oaths are in the name of Ali; and, instead of looking for assistance from God, Ulee mudud, Assistance O! Ali is the usual prayer.† But the higher order of Persians make a manifest difference between Ali, the Wuzeer, and son-in-law of the prophet, and Moohummud, the *prophet of God*. They maintain that he was the only lawful successor of the prophet: but I never heard them assert, and I have conversed with them repeatedly upon this subject, that Ali was equal to the *divine lawgiver*. The absurd and impious speeches of an ignorant peasant, are not to determine the religious opinions of a populous nation. During the wars between Turkey and Persia, it is probable that the inveteracy of the Soonees and Sheeas might have either degraded or exalted the character of Ali. It was the policy of the Persian government, at that period, to cherish this prejudice; and so effectually had this been accomplished, that the tyrant, Nadir Shah, found it utterly impracticable to persuade the Persians to admit the legal succession of the three first Califs.

* The same ceremony is said to be observed in many parts of India. See the Hedaya Preliminary Discourse, page 10.

† The porters sing a verse like this:

اگر بتواني بگو ياعلي
اگر خسته جاني بگو ياعلى

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CHAPTER X.

Of the Buildings, Baths.

THE houses inhabited by persons of rank in Persia are built with some degree of taste and convenience. The entrance to them is very bad; instead of finding a broad and handsome gateway, you probably have to creep through a small door not five feet high. Their houses are surrounded by a high wall, so that their view is terminated by the extent of their ground, which is not, however, to be regretted in a city. On passing the door, through a narrow passage, you enter a spacious court-yard, at the top of which, and opposite the Deewan Khanu, is a jet d'eau; and in the middle, and sometimes on both sides, are Dureeachus, canals which play like fountains.

The Deewan Khanu is a very large room, the floor is covered with a rich carpet, and handsome Numuds (felts), and the sash-windows, which take up one entire side of the room, are glazed with very small pieces of stained glass, and which form representations of the sun and stars.

If the Deewan Khanu is large, there are usually two fire places, ornamented with paintings or plate glass. On each side of this room there is a small one, but which does not appear to be ever used. It is impossible to form any notion of the extent of their buildings, as their private and sleeping apartments are concealed from the sight of man. The stair-cases in Persia are broad and handsome, and by no means like those in India, where you are obliged to grope your way up a dark and narrow flight of steps to

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the most magnificent apartments. Their houses are terraced, for the purpose of sleeping on in the warm weather; a practice invariably observed by the Persians during the summer months. This is thought to be very prejudicial to health: I followed their example, and, although the dews (particularly at Bushire) are very heavy, I did not suffer in the least from them.

The houses in Sheeraz are built of brick; but, as the mortar they use is exceedingly bad, they are obliged to cover the face of the building with plaister of mud, chopped straw, and cow dung. The appearance which this gives, often makes you suspect that the building is only of mud.

The baths in Persia are very magnificent, and you are admitted to the convenience of them for a trifling sum.* They are in common use by every description of persons, and often afford a large fund of merriment to the unmarried persons who frequent them. The baths are open to the women as well as the men; five days are allotted to the latter, and only two to the former.

The first room you enter is the place where you undress, smoke, talk, and hear the news of the day. The next room is the bath, the floor of which is marble stone, &c. and which is heated by means of the flues, which communicate with the fire that boils the water. The operation of bathing takes up nearly an hour, and dyeing the beard, the hands, and feet as long a time. All the Persians dye their beards black, although it is naturally of that colour, to the great indignation and contempt of the Turks. The Persians, from a principle of cleanliness, either shave or burn away all the hair on their bodies. The composition they use for this purpose, is a certain proportion of quick lime and orpiment (or Zarnich†) mixed together. It is a very dangerous mixture, for if you do not wash it away as the hair begins to fall, you are often

* At the most two-pence.

† The real orpiment, as well as Zurnich, is called by the Persians Zurnekh.

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burned in a most dreadful manner. The fragrant earth of roses (gile gool) is commonly used in Persian baths. As a number of persons are in the bath at one time, you pass part of your time in talking and smoking, and sometimes sleeping. The Persians delight in using the bath, and have a saying, that "No man should visit a foreign country, where there is not a magistrate, a physician, and a bath."

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CHAPTER XI.

Artisans—Painters—Physicians.

THE artisans in Persia, as in all other countries, conduct themselves according to their reputation. Sheeraz has no extensive manufactory; and, excepting a few swords, and perhaps a little wine, they export nothing to the northern parts of Persia.

Many of the artisans in Sheeraz are very ingenious, particularly in all kinds of enamel work, which greatly excels, I think, that in Europe.* It is really surprising to see the lustre, and at the same time the mellowness of their colours, and the wonderful accuracy of the smallest figures. The Kuleeans are often highly enamelled, which makes them very expensive, a handsome one costing nearly fifty guineas. They work likewise very well in gold and silver, and in making ornaments for bridles, saddles, &c.

The swords which they make in Sheeraz are manufactured from steel, which they purchase in cakes at Hydrabad, and which, I learn, is brought out of the Rajah of Berar's country, and also from Amedabad. One of these cakes is to be purchased for five shillings, at Bushire for about a guinea. They each make one sword, and it rests entirely on chance how it may turn out. If they are full of Jouhur (damask) they are very valuable; but it is said that much depends on the skill of the artist.

Writing, in Persia, is an art, and one of the most laborious. They write in various hands, each of which possesses some peculiar

* They can enamel only on gold.

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beauty, but which would be tedious and uninteresting to explain. I think any person who may have seen some of the beautiful manuscripts of the East, will acknowledge that they are superior to any printed work; at the same time we must confess, that the *oscillantes librarii* is often an insurmountable difficulty to those who are studying the Persian language.

I cannot say much of the painters of Persia; they have some little knowledge of light and shade, but know nothing of perspective. The portrait painters, I have heard, take likenesses with very great exactness. Those who paint landscapes, &c. generally study some daub sent out from England, or perhaps one from China, and these they look upon as master-pieces. They give the preference to our figures, but say that the colouring of the Chinese is much superior. The vivid glare of a Chinese drawing, bears about the same proportion to an English landscape, as the colouring of a Flemish painting does to the mellow richness of the Italian school.

It is no uncommon thing, in a Persian painting, to see a man nearly as tall as a mountain; or, in their representations of a battle, a line of guns, on which are formed a line of infantry, over whom is another of cavalry. I have also heard of a picture, which described the commencement of an action, and in another part the defeat of the enemy.

The physicians are infinitely worse than the painters, and their means of doing harm are unfortunately much greater. Their system of practice is derived from the Greeks, and has descended to them with very little alteration. According to their theory, things are either hot or cold in such degrees, and the only difficulty they have to resolve is, whether the disease proceeds from too much heat or too much cold. China root with them is almost a sovereign remedy against all complaints; I have known them give it for violent colds, and for diseases which result from too free an intercourse among the sexes. When they administer it, the patient is

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confined to a room, where the smallest breath of air is to be carefully shut out, and the poor man not only suffers from his complaint, but also from intense heat.

The Mahometan religion will not allow of dissection, so that they are deprived of the means of acquiring knowledge from the discoveries of anatomy. Tavernier, I think, mentions that they give horse flesh for the cholic: I have seen them try nearly as curious an experiment. A poor man was violently afflicted with the heart burn, and instead of prescribing an internal medicine, they heaped a great quantity of ice and snow on his breast; which, they said, was an effectual cure. If it be possible, I believe they know less of surgery than physic; in short, they undergo no course of education to qualify them for either profession.

The sciences of medicine and surgery with them is nothing more than a *trade;* and they imagine that they can acquire them with almost as little difficulty, as their brothers learnt to make a shoe or mend a shawl.

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CHAPTER XII.

Method of passing Time in Persia.

THE Persians very often complain of a want of time, but which I could only account for, by applying the common remark, that the most indolent are usually the forwardest to repine at a deficiency of leisure. A man of rank in Persia generally rises before the sun, he says his prayers, and then enters his Deewan Khanu; his Kuleean is brought him, perhaps some fruit; and here it is that he expects his visitors and dependents. He is probably engaged with them till nine o'clock; listening to the reports of the morning, settling disputes, and arranging domestic concerns. It is now time for him to visit the prince or the governor; and if he is likely to be detained there beyond mid-day, preparations are made for conveying his Chast (dinner). He pays his obeisance, and takes precaution to remain sufficiently long in the presence of the person he visits to attract his observation. His Kuleean always accompanies him; and when he thinks he can retire unnoticed, he regales himself with smoking. At noon the governor probably retires, which is a signal for all those who are in attendance to depart. When he returns home, the Chast is brought, and eat with a good appetite. The mid-day prayers are to be said, after which he retires to sleep till three o'clock. He may again have to attend the Duri Khoona; if not, he pays visits; or, if he is too high a personage, he remains at home to receive them. He has to perform the Numazi usur, or afternoon prayers.

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When it becomes dark, the carpets are spread in the open air, and with either his friends or dependents he prepares to pass the night. The Kuleean supplies the intervals of silence; and, if he can afford it, a set of Georgian slaves exert themselves for his amusement. The evening prayer is now to be said; this does not interrupt the harmony of the evening, for as one performs it another gets up to supply his place. The business of saying prayers appears to be a necessary and irksome task, and they get rid of it with the utmost expedition. In Persia it seems to be an established custom for every person to perform his five daily prayers; this is an observance which is but little attended to in India. The Numaz is a ready excuse for the absence or idleness of a servant. About ten the Shoom (supper) is brought, and the hour of eleven usually closes the eventful day.

This is, as far as I am able to judge, a true description of the way in which persons of rank pass their time. About five or six Khans are not under the necessity of visiting the Duri Khoonu; they are independent of the governor, and therefore only pay him ceremonious visits. But the remainder pass their days nearly as I have represented. The Sheikh of Bushire, and the governors of districts, or their representatives, are obliged to be in constant attendance at the Duri Khoonu, and must have enjoyed this *even course* of life. Agha Ruza, with whom I lived, and who was Darhogha of the Bazars, constantly attended on either the prince or governor; and, as he held his appointment from the king, he had less occasion for their favour than the governors of districts, who are their immediate dependents.

The merchants, instead of visiting the governor, visit the Caravansera, where they have usually shops. Here they expose their merchandize for sale, form their speculations, and transact all their concerns. By renting a room at a Caravansera, they not only avoid all kind of interruption when at home, but are also able to

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purchase goods to large amounts, by walking from one merchant's apartments to another's. If they are too poor to sleep, they remain until evening; and their day is always closed, like their superiors, with an enormous supper. Another prayer remains to be said about the middle of the night, which, except by a few, is, I believe, mostly forgotten.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Amusements in Persia.

With what profound contempt does a Moosulman look upon the qualification of being able to sing, play, or dance. He gravely twists his beard, and probably ejaculates a prayer of thanks that he was born a gentleman. This accounts for the serious and taciturn character of a Moosulman. Ignorance frequently limits his conversation within narrow bounds; and a habit of silence renders speaking a disagreeable and irksome task. A learned Moohammedan gentleman is a rare character; indeed men of rank think it beneath them to know any thing but their own consequence.

This is not, however, much the case with the Persians, who are generally affable and courteous men, possessing a variety of anecdote, and considerable information. It is the custom with them to converse upon literary subjects, and repeat a variety of verses before supper, which enables them to acquire a stock of superficial knowledge with little or no trouble. And perhaps it may be thought that their evenings are spent to more advantage, and more rationally, than if they had been taken up by a game of cards, which interests the passions without informing the mind. The extent of their memory is really astonishing, they will repeat almost any ode you may mention, and yet I believe they read less than any description of people.

Many of the great people keep sets of Georgian boys, who are instructed to sing, to play on various instruments, and perform feats of activity. The Persian songs are very sweet and pathetic;

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and the music which accompanied their voices I thought to be very good. Their songs are in praise of wine and beauty, mixed with frequent complaints of the cruelty of their mistresses.

The following is a specimen of their songs:

بیا ساقي که من مردم کفن از برگ تاکم کن
زآب مي بده غسلم در مي خانه خاکم کن
ایمان دارم من وفادارم تو ناز مکن من نیاز دارم

"Hasten hither, O cup bearer! ere I die;
"See that my shroud be made of the leafy vine.
"Wash me in rosy wine,*
"And scatter my ashes at the door of the tavern.
"I am faithful, I am still constant;
"Turn not away from me, for I am a suppliant."

The Arabic songs are sung in parts, and much quicker than the Persian time. There are two men at Sheeraz who are considered to be very superior players on an instrument very like a violin; I heard them, and admired them much, but could form no judgment on their performance. These men, and the dancers, drink wine in enormous quantities, and that too publickly.

Although the Persian music is so greatly superior to that of India, their dances are as much inferior, being nothing more than an exhibition of the most indecent and disgusting movements and gestures. The dances in India are admirably calculated to set off an elegant figure to the highest advantage; and, notwithstanding the warm and animated descriptions which have been given of the indelicacy and voluptuousness of Eastern dancers, I must confess that many of them appear to me wholly unobjectionable.†

* It is the custom in all Moosulman countries to wash the body before it is buried.

† People often court before they are shocked by the indecency of these dancers. I shall incur the reproach of singularity, but all the movements and attitudes of the Indian dancers strike me as being infinitely more graceful, and far less indecent than those in a German waltz.

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The most beautiful women in Persia are devoted to the profession of dancing; the transparency of their shift, which is the only covering they use to conceal their persons, the exquisite symmetry of their forms, their apparent agitation, and the licentiousness of their verses, are so many incentives to a passion, which requires more philosophy than the Persians possess to restrain.

After the dancers, come another description of people, if possible of more infamous morals. They are called Lootees, a kind of buffoon; and, as I learnt, have free access to the prince and governor, whom they amuse by a variety of indecent anecdotes and stories, which they relate, or invent, of the inhabitants of Sheeraz. Both the prince and governor keep a set of these wretches, who are allowed to take the greatest liberties with the most respectable characters; and who are obliged, in their own defence, to make them presents to ensure their forbearance, and to get rid of their importunity. They perform feats of activity and sleights of hand; but their principal means of subsistence is on the contributions they levy on strangers. They appear to be a privileged people; and, I believe, the reason why they are so often entertained in the houses of the great, arises from a dread lest they should exert the influence they are supposed to possess against them. Aga Ruza often had them; but why I could never discover.

Another amusement, among those who can afford it, is listening to a Shah Namu Khoon, a person who repeats and acts various passages of Ferdousee's epic poem called the Shah Namu. This is an amusement of a very superior kind, and one which a stranger is sure to delight in. They act the different descriptions of the poet with great spirit, particularly the account of the battle betweer Roostum, the hero of the poem, and Sohrab.

Although I did not understand the meaning of several words, I was fully able to comprehend the purport of every verse, and as

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they repeat the lines in an artificial voice, you are able to follow them with ease.

The game of back-gammon is common among the Persians, they know little of the game of chess. The priests hold persons who play, particularly if it is for money, in little estimation; and, I fancy, most conscientiously believe, that they will suffer in a future world for these acts of impiety. They have horse-races at Sheeraz, but I was not there at the proper season. From description I learnt, that the horses start at least at the distance of fifteen miles, and pursue a direct course to the post. No care is taken to level the ground; and, as it very often happens that more than twenty horses start together, there are frequent accidents. Purses of gold are given to the owners of the first, second, and third horses. They take great pains in training their horses, which they do for a much longer time than I believe is practised in Europe.

The military men are constantly playing at jureed-bazee, which is throwing a dart three cubits long at a horseman when they are at full gallop. The person at whom it is thrown either catches it in his hand, or throwing himself under the horse's belly, allows it to fly over him. This they perform very expertly; and which is by no means easy, when we recollect that the horse is going nearly at his speed. The jureed comes with sufficient force to break an arm. They also amuse themselves with riding full speed, turning round on their saddles, and firing a small carbine they carry; or in throwing the jureed on the ground, and catching it as it rebounds. The Persians appear very bad horsemen to Europeans; one thing is evident, that they must ruin a horse's mouth in the course of a month.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Dress of the Persians.

THE dress of the Persians is admirably calculated either for a cold or hot climate. Their limbs are under no restraint, and their clothes may be put on or thrown off in five minutes. The Persians are generally too poor to be fashionable, their dress, therefore, seldom varies, except in the colour of the robes. The Qajjars, however, preside over fashion; and every thing which is supposed to be neat or elegant, is called Qujuree or à la Qajjar. Their clothes may be easily described. The Zeer Jamus are very light trowsers made of silk, those worn in the hot weather sometimes of flax; the Peerahun, or shirt, comes over the trowsers, and then the Urkhaliq, which is made of a Masulipatam chintz, or fine shawls. The outside robe, or Quba, is made of various kind of cloths, some of which are very magnificent and expensive; the Kolah, or cap, is made of the skin of the sheep of Tartary, which is very fine, and beautifully black. The merchants are prohibited wearing either scarlet or crimson cloths, and also using silver or gold buttons to their robes. This may not possibly amount to a prohibition, but as it is never done, it is attended with the same effect. The wearing of silks is interdicted by the Moosulman law, but they avoid this by mixing a very little cotton with them: a large quantity of this kind of cloth (Gurmasoot) is imported into Persia from Guzerat*.

* As the Mahometans object to wearing silk on account of its being an excrement, I wonder they do not also object to the wearing of pearls. But fashion will ever subdue the ordinances of religion.

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The Persians neither resemble those of old, nor their neighbours the Indians, in effeminacy of dress. The king, I believe, is the only person in the empire who wears any kind of jewels; and he only does so on state occasions. They greatly ridicule the fondness the Indians have for female ornaments; and they relate a story of one who was travelling in Persia, whom the Rahdars took for a woman, and would not be convinced to the contrary, until they had taken him to the Hakim. The pompous and high sounding titles of India are likewise a fund of amusement to them; for, excepting the dignity of Ihtimad ood doulu, which is given to their prime minister, and the hereditary honour of Khan, there are no other marks of distinction among them.*

It is the custom for the military men to press their caps down on one side; the Mirza, or civil officers, twist a shawl about them; and the artificers, tradesmen, &c. wear their cap upright.†

Shah Ubas, who wished to make the merchants very frugal, issued an order, that they were always to wear shawl turbans, and robes of broad-cloth. This he thought would be the cheapest dress they could wear, as the shawl would last their lives, and descend to their children, and the cloths would last some years. Although the Persians bathe so often (which is rather a luxurious enjoyment than an act of cleanliness), they are a very dirty people. They very rarely change their garments, and seldom before it is dangerous to come near them. The Persian who accompanied me slept in his clothes until we reached Kazroon, although it was the hottest season of the year; and I believe then was only induced to

* In India you may purchase a title for a very small sum. The wisdom of Soloman has often been bought, I believe, for a hundred rupees.

† This custom will explain the following two lines of Hafiz:

نه هر که طرفي کلاه کج نهاد و تند نشست
کلاه کوشه به آين دلبري بشکن

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change his dress at my recommendation.* It is thought nothing in Persia to wear a shirt a month, or a pair of trowsers half a year.

A Persian soldier, armed cap-à-pie, is of all figures the most ridiculous. It is really laughable to see how they encumber themselves with weapons of defence: their horses groan under the weight of their arms. These consist of a pair of pistols in their holsters, a single one slung in their waist, a carbine, or a long Turkish gun, a sword, a dagger, and an immense long spear; for all these fire arms they have separate ramrods tied about their persons, powder horns for loading, others for priming, and a variety of cartouch-boxes, filled with different sized cartridges. If they are advancing towards you, they may be heard a long way off. I should really suppose that their saddle and arms would weigh about eighty pounds, an enormous addition to the horse's burthen. Yet they consider themselves as light armed troops, ridiculing the Turkish cavalry, who, they say, can take care of little else than their big boots and cap. The arms of the Persians are very good, particularly their swords, which are highly prized by the Turks.† They are full of Jouhur, or what is called damask; which, however, does not express the meaning of the word, for the Jouhur is inherent in the steel. Tavernier says that none but Golconda steel can be damasked; but in this he is mistaken, as the Khorasan swords are more valuable than any others, the blade often alone costing twenty or thirty guineas.

* The Hindoo, who bathes constantly in the Ganges, and whose heart *equals in purity the whiteness of his vest*, will allow this same white robe to drop nearly off with filth before he thinks of changing it. Histories composed in the closet, of the manners of extensive nations, may possess every beauty, for *as facts* do not restrain the imagination, nor impose rules on poetical licence, the fancy of the historian enjoys an uninterrupted range in the regions of fiction.

† Mr. Eton enters into an examination of the advantages of the broad sword, and the Turkish or Persian scymitar; he gives the preference to the latter. Eton's Turkish Empire.

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The dress of the Persians is very expensive, frequently amounting to sixty or one hundred guineas; but which, of course, must be in proportion to their capacity to bear this expence. The poor people wear no cap, and very little clothes; when the cold weather comes on, they make dresses out of sheep skins, &c.

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SHAKHNUBAT,

the Mistress of Kureem Khan.

Engraved by C. Turner from an Original Picture.

Published June 1st 1809, by Cadell & Davies Strand.

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CHAPTER XV.

Of the Dress of the Women of Persia.

THIS engraving is taken from a portrait of the famous Shakh-nubat, the mistress of Kureem Khan. She is said to have possessed a wonderful influence over the mind of the Vakeel, obliging him, upon every occasion, to submit to her wishes. The king was sensibly affected at her death, and paid her memory the same attention as he would have shewn if she had been legally married to him.

The curiosity of the females, who lived in the adjoining house to mine, afforded me frequent opportunities of not only seeing, but also of conversing with them. And what may appear strange, after the accounts we have of Eastern jealousy, this was usually in the presence of their husbands, who did not evince the least repugnance to my seeing their wives. My being an European probably entitled me to this indulgence.

The women of Persia, when at home, do not encumber themselves with many clothes, nor are they very attentive to the whiteness of their garments. A Peerahun and a pair of Zeer Jamus is the whole of their dress; the trowsers are made of thick velvet, and their shift either of muslin, silk, or gauze. Their legs appear literally to be tied up in two sacks, and the Peerahun is but *concealment visible* to the rest of their persons. This is their summer apparel; in the winter they wear garments made of shawls, silks stuffed with cotton, and, if they can afford it, cloaks made of sable.

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The Persian women, like the Indian, are totally devoid of delicacy; their language is often gross and disgusting, nor do they feel less hesitation in expressing themselves before men, than they would before their female associates. Their terms of abuse or reproach are indelicate to the utmost degree. I will not disgust the reader by noticing any of them; but I may safely aver, that it is not possible for language to express, or the imagination to conceive, more indecent or grosser images.*

When they leave the house, they put on a cloak, which descends from the head to their feet, and their faces are concealed with *Oriental scrupulosity*. The veil which they wear is sometimes worked like a net, or else two holes are made in the cloak for their eyes. It is curious to see a number of tall and elegant formed figures walking in the streets, and presenting nothing to your view but a pair of sparkling black eyes, which seem to enjoy the curiosity they excite. The veil appears to be essential to their virtue; for as long as they can conceal their face, they care not how much they expose the rest of their person. The women in Persia are the only people who wear jewels or use perfumes; and this is a privilege they take much delight in.

The Persians differ as much from us in their notions of beauty, as they do in those of taste. A large, soft, and languishing black eye, with them constitutes the perfection of beauty; and which, they say, diffuses an amorous softness over the whole countenance, infinitely superior to the piercing and ardent glance of majestic beauty. It is chiefly on this account that the women use the

* The same may be observed of all the inhabitants of India; nor will the plea, that the false delicacy of refinement, which disqualifies us from judging of the language of nature, exempt them from censure. If the nakedness of a prostitute be more disgusting than that of an Indian, it must be allowed that their language is infinitely chaster, and more refined. There are certain images which must always create disgust and aversion; and, although they are familiar in the East, it is by no means evident that they are the images of nature. There may be a refinement on grossness of vice as well as an excess of delicacy, and it does not follow that the one is natural and the other unnatural.

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powder of antimony, which, although it adds to the vivacity of the eye, throws a kind of voluptuous languor over it, which makes it appear (if I may use the expression) dissolving in bliss.*

Many of the women of Sheeraz are as fair as those of Europe, but confinement robs them of that lovely bloom so becoming and so essential to female beauty. The Persian women have a curious custom of making their eye brows meet; and, if this charm be denied them, they paint the forehead with a kind of preparation made for that purpose.

I need hardly mention that, agreeably to the laws of the Moosulmans, a man may have four wives, and as many concubines as he is able to maintain. Many descriptions have already been given of the seraglios of the East; with what correctness I am unable to determine.† I can pretend to no more information on this subject, than that it is customary, when a man marries a woman, whose age does not admit of her managing his domestic concerns, for him to place at the head of his family a Kud Banoo (a duenna), who instructs his wife in all the duties it is necessary for her to acquire.

It is not an observance in Persia, as in India, not to marry a widow.‡ After a certain time of mourning, a woman marries again, and is treated by her husband with the same distinction as is shewn to his other wives.

* This, according to my conception, is precisely the signification of the "Chushm Khoomar," so highly celebrated by all the Persian poets. The humid eye of Anacreon is exactly the Chusmi Khoomar of the Persians.

† See the Memoires of Baron de Tott.

‡ The Moosulmans of India have adopted a variety of customs from the Hindoos, and this among others. It is usual in this country of effiminacy and vice, for a man to marry a young child of four or five years of age; he rarely considers that by the period she can be his, he will probably need the assiduities of a nurse, rather than the caresses of a young wife. Thus it often happens that youth and beauty become the victim of age and impotence; and should the husband fortunately die, the woman is to sigh away the remainder of her life, because she has enjoyed the name of being married. It is no wonder that a Hindoo woman, who is despised and forsaken when she has lost her husband, should burn herself on the pile of a cruel tyrant. Faith may cheer her in this undertaking, but it seldom excites her to it.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Muhuls.

The city of Sheeraz is divided into Muhuls (wards), over which a Kud Khoda or superintendant presides, but who receives no salary for executing this duty. This office is generally conferred on the most respectable man of the ward, and over all these Khud Khodas another is appointed, who receives their reports, and communicates them to the governor. It was formerly the custom for them to report the minutest transaction which might happen in their wards; the birth of a child, a marriage or death was instantly conveyed to the ears of the Hakim. This practice is dispensed with at Sheeraz, but is still, I believe, observed in some cities. It is the duty of the Kud Khoda to acquaint himself with the trade and occupation of the different persons who reside in the ward, and of the means they have of subsistence.

But the great advantage which results from this division of the city, not only to government, but also to the inhabitants, is on the sudden arrival of a large body of troops, or when the city is laid under contribution. In either case, the Kud Khodas attend the governor, who informs them what number of men their wards must accommodate, or what sum of money it is requisite they should contribute. They are responsible to the governor; and it is their business to make such an arrangement, that each individual shall suffer in proportion to his capacity to bear this act of violence. The people are generally satisfied with their decisions; for it is needless for them to desist, and often dangerous to delay.

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The licentiousness of the troops is thus prevented by their finding houses ready to receive them; and an indiscriminate plunder is averted by a compliance with the terms of the conquefor. In a despotic monarchy, this division of the city is of wonderful utility; it allows a tyrant, who captures a place, to proceed on a systematic plan of plunder; and the inhabitants of the city suffer much less than those in similar cases have done in Europe.*

There is often a degree of weight attached to the representations of the Kud Khodas, which serves as a strong restraint on the oppression of a governor. In the event of their suffering greatly from the rapacity or tyranny of the Hakim, they sign a petition, representing the causes of complaint, and praying for redress. It is seldom that the king refuses to grant their request. They are the mediators for the poor people; and despots have the sense to know, that oppression, carried beyond a certain extent, can be but of short duration.

In all the little trifling disputes which occur among neighbours, the Kud Khoda exerts his influence to bring them to an amicable termination, and frequently with good success. If a husband and wife disagree, he endeavours to effect a reconciliation by remonstrating with the husband, and through the medium of a Kud Banoo (a kind of governess), with the wife. In short, it is his business to be a peace-maker, and to exert himself for the good of the community over which he presides.

The office of Khud Khoda appears to me to be a most admirable institution; and, though it will doubtless be often abused, it must, in the end, prove beneficial to the poorer classes of people.

* Capture of Rome, Charles 5th. In Persia they seize on the Kud Khodas as the most expeditious means of accomplishing their views. When Holkar defeated Scindia's army at Poona, he prevented his troops from plundering, by which means he appropriated the greatest part of the plunder to himself; and though some few died from the severity of his punishments, the people suffered less than if they had been exposed to the outrages of his troops.

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Nor can the Kud Khoda oppress them with impunity; he exposes himself to frequent complaints, and complaints in Persia are generally listened to with avidity. They certainly may become the instruments of tyranny; but we have yet to discover an institution that cannot be abused.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Of the Police of Sheeraz.

It has been remarked, that the police of a despotic monarchy is infinitely superior to that in a free state. It is necessary that it should be so; for suspicion is the prevailing cause which directs the actions and councils of a despot.

The police of Sheeraz is admirably regulated; and I hardly think it possible for the middling classes of people to harbour any design against the government, which should not come to the immediate notice of the governor. The Darogha, or superintendant of the Bazars, holds his office from government; it is his duty to settle the disputes that may occur in the markets, and to hear the complaints of the people of the Bazar. If a shopkeeper refuses to execute, or violates his agreement, you make your complaint to the Darogha, who obliges him to perform it; or, if he should prove that he is totally unable, he grants him a certain time for its performance. The humanity of the Moosulman law grants a merchant an opportunity of recovering himself from unforeseen misfortunes. But if the person complained against is of an infamous character, a fine is imposed on him, and the Darogha orders him either to be punished or put in confinement.

The Darogha of the Bazar likewise superintends the morals of the people; and if he detects any of them drinking wine, or in the society of courtezans, he compels them to purchase his connivance at no small expence.

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I remember Aga Ruza's receiving fifty Toomans (guineas) from an unfortunate Armenian, who was caught in the house of a prostitute; and he thought he conferred a favour on him, at allowing him to escape at so easy a rate. He has a large establishment under him, who are employed in preserving the peace of the markets, and in apprehending persons whom they detect acting contrary to the orders of the Darogha.

This appointment is considered to be very lucrative; for, in addition to the presents and bribes he is in the habit of receiving, the people of the Bazar furnish him with every thing he requires, that they may ensure his protection and favour.

The appointment of Meer Usus, or Uhdas, greatly resembles that of Darogha of the Bazar; the former is superintendant of the police during the day, the latter at night. It is his office to preserve the peace of the city, to take up persons who may be out of their houses at improper hours, and to prevent robberies. He has a number of people under him for this purpose, who patrole the streets, and keep watch on the top of the houses. Each shopkeeper in the Bazar contributes about two or three-pence a month to defray the expences of this establishment. If a house-keeper is robbed, the Meer Usus, or Kucheek-chee-bashee (the head of the watch), are accountable for the robbery, and are obliged either to produce the property stolen, or pay the amount. This rarely happens, for the Meer Usus is generally connected with all the thieves in the city, and can answer for their obedience to his orders. They rob, therefore, in places not under his protection; and, as it is commonly supposed he participates in their plunder, they are connected with each other by a common interest.*

The Mohtusib is, I believe, subject to the orders of the Darogha

* It is very well known, that the best method to secure your property, in many parts of India, is to employ a thief to guard it. Thieving in the East is an honourable calling; they pay a certain sum monthly for permission to follow their profession; and in all native camps there is a Bazar which goes by the name of the thieving-market.

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of the Bazar; it is his business to regulate the prices of every article which is sold in the Bazar, and to see that the weights are of the proper standard. This duty is usually performed once a week; and if he convicts any person of using false weights, the punishment is often death.

Besides these officers, there are others who are stationed at the gates of the city, to prevent the inhabitants of any consequence from leaving the city without the governor's permission. These appointments are doubtless obnoxious to the grossest bribery; but, notwithstanding the evils which result from this system of corruption, they are at least equal to similar institutions in any European country.* People have, in general, been clamorous against the laws and ordinances of despotic monarchies, which, they conceive, like the source of a poisoned river, must necessarily infect all its branches; but with what propriety I shall leave those to determine, who are acquainted with other states, where property is secured by the payment of a monthly tax of three-pence; and where merchandise is conveyed to the remotest parts of the empire without the smallest risk. It may be said, that in despotic monarchies, not only property, but life, depends upon the will of one man, and that where the latter is uncertain, there can be little satisfaction in the enjoyment of the former. This is a maxim which may be disputed; for we have no reason to suppose that the life of either a soldier or a sailor is any ways more uncomfortable, than that of a merchant, remote from the probability or chance of dangers.

Men of rank or enterprise, who expose themselves by holding responsible situations to imminent hazard, gratify their ambition at the risk of their lives; but they are aware of this, and as they court the danger which it would have been easy for them to avoid, they

* I know not but that this system of corruption is not a severer check upon vice, than the practice of prosecuting a criminal, or exposing him in the stocks to public ridicule. This relates of course, to trifling and petty offences; and it cannot be denied that the hope of gain will be a powerful stimulus with many persons.

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can have no reason to complain if they fail in their pursuit. They can with no more justice lament their fate, than a minister of state can his being impeached. Far be it from me to become an advocate in favour of a despotic monarchy; yet there is, I think, some reason to doubt the relations we have of the wretchedness and misery of those who live under and are ruled by the laws of an arbitrary government.

That the Persians suffer greatly from the enormities and oppression of government no one will attempt to deny; nor will any person suppose that an inhabitant of a free country could live either happily or comfortably under the government of a Persian despot. I may, however, be excused doubting, whether the moral character of the Persians qualify them for a better government; or whether they may not attribute the tyrannical measures of their prince to the enormity of their own excesses.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the Laws.

As the Persians are the followers of Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet, their system of laws is not burthened with the numerous traditions and commentaries of the Soonees. The dissention between Aboo Jafir and Huneefu, two very celebrated lawyers, laid the foundation of that difference which at present pervades the two systems of Mahometan jurisprudence; but the acrimony of religious controversy had long before this dispute prepared the minds of the two sects for a final separation.* It will be here sufficient to observe that their differences are frequently founded upon the observance of trivial forms, or the practice of peculiar customs. A zealous Shee-a most conscientiously believes, that a Soonee will be damned for crossing his hands on his breast, when he is saying his prayers, instead of letting them fall by his side, agreeably to the practice of the followers of Ali.

The dispensation of justice in a despotic monarchy must necessarily be summary, and frequently not in the least proportioned to the magnitude or slightness of the offence. Sadee relates a story of a judge, guilty of a most serious crime, being pardoned for making a witty defence. This story is probably a fiction, but history abounds with a variety of similar instances. It may become a subject of some dispute, whether, in all cases relative to property, the chance of summary oppression is not preferable to the delays

* See Preliminary Discourse to the Hedaya, p. 24.

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of a formal and tardy investigation. However this may be, the Persians are certainly greatly prejudiced in favour of their own laws, particularly those who have been initiated into the mysteries of our courts of justice. They cannot conceive the necessity of deferring to pass an immediate judgment on a cause which must be either just or unjust; little imagining that a preparatory study of many years is requisite to enable their counsel to form an opinion on the merits of their case. But although they deprecate this delay, they willingly acknowledge the superior wisdom and justice which directs the decisions of our courts; and break out in lavish commendations of the scrupulous regard which is shewn to the claims of the meanest individual.

The distribution of justice in Persia is committed to the hands of the Sheikh Ool Islam (head priest), who is the judge of criminal and civil law; and to the governor, who is the Hakimi Oorf, or judge of common law. The former is directed in his decisions by the Shura, a name the Koran receives when applied to judicial proceedings, and to the Hudees, or traditions of the prophet. It is the duty of the Hakimi Oorf to see the decisions of the civil magistrate carried into effect.

It may not be necessary to observe, that the Moosulman law is founded on the principle of the lex talionis; that life is requited with life; or, if the kin of the deceased agree, may be commuted by the payment of a fixed sum; and of wounds, in the same manner. In the event of a person receiving a wound, and, according to the law of retaliation, his inflicting a similar one on the body of the aggressor, from which he should afterwards die, he is considered to have been guilty of murder, and is delivered over to the relations of the deceased. But this is an extraordinary circumstance which possibly may not have occurred.

In despotic monarchies, wealth and power will often counteract the laws; nor is it to be wondered at, when we find that in most

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states, it is always of some advantage to the criminal. In the case of a poor man being murdered by his superior, and his nearest of kin claiming the right of retaliation, the matter would probably be referred by the governor to the king, although it is the office of the Sheikh Ool Islam to pass his decision on the offender.

The Hakimi Oorf executes the decisions of the civil magistrate; but a latitude is left him to inflict what punishments he thinks proper. The civil magistrates, in all the cities of Persia, are the servants of the king, totally independent of the governor, who seldom hesitates to acknowledge their authority, or to comply with their judgments. Various kinds of disputes, robberies, &c. are cognizable by the Hakimi Oorf, who punishes or pardons as he thinks proper; at the same time it is expected that he should regulate his decisions according to established usage.* The quarrels and disputes which occur among the troops, are decided by the commandant; murders or assaults by the Sheikh Ool Islam of the city.

I have already taken notice of the duty of the Darogha of the Bazar, who, by settling trifling disputes, prevents all manner of delay, and relieves the other judges from a load of business. It may be here worth while to observe, that no witness is ever sworn; he says, "I give evidence;" neither is there any *prescribed* punishment for wilful perjury.†

A man of rank enjoys a number of privileges which are denied the poorer classes. No servant can complain against him; nor can a tradesman recover his money, should he refuse to discharge his debts. This is rather agreeably to what has probably been practised for ages, than that it is founded on any law. On the contrary, the Mohammedan laws embrace every description of offenders, and shew no more favour to the richest, than they do to the poorest individual. This distinction is the result of despotism, is

* The Persians have no books on common law.

† See Hedaya.

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generated by it, and must exist as long as this form of government endures.

A Mooslim is allowed to divorce his wife without assigning the smallest cause of complaint; whereas it is necessary for the woman to substantiate ill usage, and a variety of other circumstances, before she can procure a separation. They may part in this way three times; after which, I believe, it is considered improper, though not unlawful, for them to have any further connection. After the third time, she must be married and be divorced before her former husband can remarry her.*

Marriages are easily concluded in Persia; you may, according to the Mooslim law, be married for an hour, a day, or a month. You draw out a contract, specifying the time; this you take to the priest, who recognises the deed, and allows its validity. Some prayers are, I believe, read; the priest receives a present; and should you be inclined to renew your engagement, this too is allowed. This kind of union is considered to be little inferior to marriage; and is a plan generally adopted by those who are over scrupulous, and of tender faith.†

Justice, according to every thing I could hear, is but badly administered in Persia; a bribe, I believe, is the most expeditious method of securing redress, and even then it would depend on your having presented a larger sum than the person you complained against. The Sheikh ool Islam at Sheeraz was universally considered to be a just and upright magistrate; but, I fear, this was a remarkable instance of virtue. The Persians, though they are quarrelsome, are by no means litigious; it seldom happens that any, but those who can afford it, suffer by the iniquity of their judges. Poor people can have but few causes of complaint; ill usage, being wounded, or one of their relations being put to death.

* See Koran, chapter ii. p. 42. and Preliminary Dis. p. 178.

† This union is called Mootu-a.

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I have already noticed the punishments for the two latter, the former is seldom redressed.

I have briefly stated the leading features of the Mooslim laws, without entering into any particular detail of their jurisprudence. The word which denotes justice, signifies bringing things to an equality, or placing me in the same situation as before I was injured. But however philosophical the term may be, I fear it has little weight with those in power; yet we may remark, that if despotic authority counteracts the effects of salutary laws, the existence of these laws is no inconsiderable check upon despotism.

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CHAPTER XIX.

Of the Trade of Persia.

PERSIA is a country which has very little inland trade; it has few navigable rivers; neither does it produce many things in sufficient abundance to allow of exportation. Small quantities of wheat, rice, barley, dates, and almonds, are exported from the country about Bushire to Muscat, and to the ports in the gulf. There are manufactories of silk at Kashan and Yezd; but they do not fabricate more than supplies the consumption of the country. The cloths however, of Isfahan, Kashan, and Yezd, are exported from Persia into Russia, whence they bring in return broad cloths, velvets, satins, and cutlery.

The situation of Yezd makes it the emporium for all the trade of Persia; coarse purpets are sent there in large quantities, and are sold to the Ousbeg Tartars, and to the people of Khorasan; the merchant makes his returns in silk, carpets, felts, and the shawls of Cashmire. There are many cities in Persia which supply the adjacent towns with the produce of their manufactories; at Kirman they make shawls, which are worn by the poor people, and are sent all over Persia; but, speaking generally, they rely almost entirely on foreigners for furnishing them with articles of dress and luxury. Persia produces large quantities of gums and drugs, particularly asafœtida, which is in great demand in India. The Americans have lately sent one or two ships to Bushire and Bussora to take in a cargo of drugs; but, I believe,

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they were greatly disappointed, for the haste they were in did not permit of the merchants procuring supplies from the inland country.

Pearls of every description are sent in quantities to India, where they are esteemed superior to those of Ceylon. Chests of wine and rose water are likewise sent there, but the number is very inconsiderable. Tavernier mentions, that 4125 tons of wine were annually made at Sheeraz;* but this is by no means the case at present, for every man in Persia manufactures his own wine, and the exportation of it to foreign countries must be very trifling. The most advantageous trade for the merchants is probably in horses; of which numbers are sent by every vessel to the different ports in India.

The merchants of Persia are a shrewd, sensible, and thrifty class of people, willing to undergo any hardship if they have a prospect of making money. Many of them visit India; others send agents to manage their concerns, particularly to Massulipatam, to superintend the manufacture of chintz. They often undertake long journies, frequently to Cashmire, where they supply themselves with shawls. Besides the danger of this journey, they can seldom hope to receive the returns for their money before the expiration of three years; from which it is easy to form some notion of their profits, and of the present state of the trade in Persia. The trade of Persia is comparatively of very little advantage to the state; it adds but little to the revenue, and affords employment to a small number of mulateers. For there is a vast difference in the trade of a country, where the stock of a merchant is changed twice or oftener a year, and where it is not changed more than once in one, two, and sometimes three years. Many of the Arabs and Persians, instead of employing their capitals in

* Tavernier, p. 428.

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such hazardous and uncertain speculations, have invested part of it in building ships, which they hire out upon freight. Those which visit Bushire and Bussora, are loaded by the owners with horses; and the freight which they get in treasure, &c. makes this a very profitable concern.

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CHAPTER XX.

Of the Customs, Taxes, &c.

The taxes and customs of Persia are divided under a number of separate heads, and are let out by government to the highest renter. The duty on goods imported into Persia, amounts, at Bushire, to about five per cent.; for although it is nominally much more, yet, as the goods are passed much below their value, it seldom exceeds this sum.* I have already noticed that between Bushire and Sheeraz there are nine Rahdarees: but the duty which they levy does not, in the whole, amount to half a piastre per cent. At Sheeraz the caravans are stopped at the custom-house, where the goods are examined and valued, and upon which a duty of two and a half per cent is levied. Here there is infinite trouble; for it is the business of the custom master to over-rate, and the interest of the merchant to undervalue his merchandize as much as possible. This altercation is usually terminated by a bribe; and this is probably the only additional duty imposed on the merchant's property.

Formerly there used to be great disputes about passing bales of shawls; but the king, to prevent the impositions which were usually practised, has ordered that each bale is to pay according to its weight, and not to its supposed value. A caravan going to any of the cities in Irak, from Bushire, must pay the duties at Sheeraz; if it passes Isphahan, at that city; and, in short, at every city it may pass through where duties are levied. Probably by the time a

* The Sheikh of Bushire, in addition to the customs, takes one piece of chintz from every bale imported into Persia. This amounts to about five thousand piastres.

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caravan reaches the banks of the Caspian Sea, the merchants may have paid thirty per cent. on their goods.

A monthly tax is imposed upon every shopkeeper; and, as far as I could learn, no distinction is made between those who have much or little business. The sum is very trifling, and all the merchants are exempted from paying it. But the description of people who pay the heaviest tax to government, are the female dancer, and the votaries of pleasure. They exercise their professions under the immediate patronage of the governor; their names, ages, &c. are carefully registered, and if one should die or marry, another instantly supplies her place.* They are divided into classes, agreeably to their merits, and the estimation they are held in; each class inhabit separate streets, so that you may descend from the *doo Toomunees* to the Pooli Seeahs, without the chance of making mistakes.

I took notice, in the chapter upon the police, of people being stationed at the gates of the city to prevent the inhabitants from leaving it without the permission of the governor; there are others who levy a toll of a half-penny upon each beast of burthen who enters the city with a load. This is a privilege of the Kutwal's, who is the commandant of the citadel.

These are all the duties, I believe, which are levied in Persia; there possibly may be some that have escaped unnoticed, but they will, at any rate, prove to be trifling. I shall conclude this chapter by remarking, that no difference is made in favour of the produce of Persia; nor are the duties upon the manufactures of one country higher than upon those of another.

* This is a long established custom, see Tavernier's Account of the Kings.

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CHAPTER XXI.

Of the Military Force.

My enquiries to ascertain the regular military force of the Persian empire proved very unsatisfactory; indeed, I met with few who possessed any information on this subject.

All the troops in Persia are the immediate servants of the king. Some of the principal Khans are *Sahibi taefus*, which signifies, that they belong to particular tribes, of which they are considered to be the head. These tribes are usually in the king's service; but these chiefs are not feudatories, all of them being regularly paid, and liable to be dismissed at the discretion of government. These troops are generally quartered in the district to which they belong; but to insure their obedience to the king's commands, either their chief or his son is usually kept at court.

The military force of Persia consists chiefly of cavalry; and it is only when they are going against a fort that they make use of infantry. The troops are clothed, furnished with horses, arms, &c. at the expence of the king: and the pay which they receive is from ten to fifteen Toomans a year; in addition to this, they are supplied with *Suroosat*, an allowance of barley and straw for their horses, and wheat, rice, and butter for themselves. They receive also something under the head of inam, a present; but this I believe to be very uncertain. This pay, however, is very great; for when we consider the value of money in Persia (which I look upon to be four or five times greater than in England), and the supplies which

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they receive, it will appear that their yearly pay amounts to fifty or sixty guineas.

This force is divided into regiments of one thousand men, commanded by a Membashee; then into hundreds, over whom is a Yoozbashee; and then into tens, under an Ounbashee; these officers receive regular pay from the king. The Khan commands the whole; and it depends upon the will of the king to what number it shall amount. Whenever a body of men is enlisted into the king's service, their own names, and that of their father's, and their ages, &c. are written down in a general muster-roll. Should any one of them die, information is immediately given to the officer who keeps the rolls; and it would be with extreme difficulty, and much hazard, that a chief could keep a smaller number of men than his prescribed quota. If he dismissed any of the original number, he would be instantly detected, by their making a complaint to the king; and if he delayed filling up the vacancies caused by deaths, the Umbardar, or officer who supplies the troops with provisions, would discover the imposition. Nor can the commander keep back any of their pay, for it would be immediately known to the troops, who would either depose him, or forward a representation to the king.

The troops are paid once a year, sometimes every three months; but as they are supplied with most of the things they require, and are furnished with houses when abroad, they do not suffer much from the length of their arrears. I can hardly say any thing of their discipline, for there were but a very small number at Sheeraz on whom I could form any judgment. Those that were there appeared to be wholly undisciplined, seldom going through any other manœuvre than charging in a promiscuous heap, and halting in detached bodies of four or five, often at the distance of many yards, in every direction from each other. They then amused themselves with skirmishing with each other; but the manœuvre they

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commonly practised, was galloping full speed, stopping their horses with a sudden jerk, which nearly threw them backwards, then turning round on their saddle, and discharging their carbine at their supposed adversary.

If we were to attend to the natural prejudices of the Persians, we should entertain no unfavourable opinion of the valour and discipline of their troops; but if we estimate their courage by the resistance which they make against victorious troops, or by the losses they sustain, I fear that they will greatly resemble the armies of the Italian states, who fought whole days without losing a single man.

As the infantry are seldom employed in any kind of service, they are, I suppose, much worse than the Persian cavalry. There was an instance some time ago at Bushire which may serve as a specimen of their proficiency in military affairs. A salute was to be fired, and as the guns were not shotted, they conceived that they might discharge them without any danger to the people who were crouded about them. They fired the guns, and several persons were killed on the spot.

The infantry are generally employed at sieges, where it is their business to fire off a piece of cannon once an hour or so; and as long as they hit the wall, they are considered to be well qualified for effecting a breach. If there are infantry and guns, a body of bildars (pioneers) accompanies the army; but as I have before remarked, the services of the infantry are seldom required.

In drawing out the lines of their camp, posting centries, and sending out picquets, they imitate the armies of European states; their camp, however, generally forms a circle. The Persians have in general been successful in their wars against the Turks, and in their irruptions into India; and, in consequence, they are impressed with very ridiculous notions of the superiority of their arms. They conceive it impossible for infantry to resist their charge; if it be

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like what I saw them practise, nothing could be more easy; but, happily for them, they are not likely to be opposed to the steady discipline and determined bravery of European troops.

When the king puts himself at the head of his army, the different Sur-kurdus (chieftains) are ordered to assemble their troops; and the king, having pledges in his hands for the fidelity of his soldiers, is certain of having an army of fifty or sixty thousand men in a few days. Besides these troops, there is another body called Gholam Shahees (slaves of the king), and who are considered to be the choicest troops in the empire. They have charge of the king's person, receive greater pay, and are clothed in a more expensive manner than the regular cavalry.

These may be about twenty thousand; but the flower of this corps is formed into a body of about four thousand, who are distinguished by the excessive richness of their dress, and the insolence of their behaviour.

The length of the Persian marches is surprising; they think nothing of forty or fifty miles a day; and it is a circumstance well known, that they have, on urgent occasions, marched at the rate of seventy miles for three days together. They march of course without baggage, but the usual rate that caravans travel in Persia is not less than thirty-five miles a day.

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CHAPTER XXII.

On the Revenue.

It is extremely difficult for a traveller to inform himself perfectly of the revenues of a country, but particularly of a country like Persia, where the method of collection is both in kind and in money, and where the revenues are not regularly realized. You can only get information from a few, and those few are seldom willing to give it. I shall therefore briefly enumerate the different kinds of lands they have in Persia, and the methods they take for realizing the rents and taxes. At the same time I beg it may be remembered, that I only relate the manner in which the land is at present held in Persia, without making any reference to the accounts which have been given on this subject.

There are two grand divisions of land in Persia; the one called *Shahee*, the other *Urbabee*. The former is land belonging to the king, the latter the *property* of the subject. One eighth of the lands in Fars and Irak is probably possessed by the king, the remainder by his subjects. The produce of these lands are subject to two divisions, the one called *Nuqd*, and the other *Jinsee;* or, in other words, the former yielding produce for manufacture, as cotton, silk, &c. and the latter crops of grain.

Those who cultivate land belonging to the king, either *Nuqd* or *Jinsee*, pay a rent of half the produce, besides the deduction which is made on account of seed; the king, however, supplies cattle for drawing water, and digs wells at his own expence. This method of

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collecting the rent is of long standing; and, in fact, the cultivator does not now pay either a *rent* or *tax* agreeably to the actual produce of the lands, but according to the produce of the land at the establishment of this regulation.* The king does not always call upon those who cultivate his land to pay their rents yearly; it sometimes remains in the cultivator's hands until troops are quartered in their neighbourhood, and they have then to pay their rents at the requisition of the Quloontur. In the event of a general drought, some allowance is made to the husbandmen, but this depends chiefly on interest and favour.

The Urbabee land is held, in general, by some person of consequence, who cultivates it for himself.† He furnishes seed, cattle to plough and draw water, and, after deducting the quantity advanced for seed, he assigns a fifth part of the produce to the cultivators, and a tenth part is the *tax* paid to government.‡ If the land be *Nuqd*, a fifth part is the *tax* imposed by government. Should a labouring man cultivate his own land, he merely pays a tax to government, and appropriates the remainder to himself. The taxes on the *Nuqd* land are, I believe, paid always in kind; I have heard,

* I would rather suppose that this is only observed when the *rents* or *taxes* fall below the established quantity.

† Rub is the singular of Urbab, and signifies a lord, ruler, &c.

‡ Mr. Patton, in his principles of Asiatic Monarchies, thinks, that because the *taxes* are paid *in kind*, they are a *land rent*, and that consequently land is the property of government. In Persia a proprietor of land pays a tenth of its produce; in England a tythe or tenth is given to the clergy, but no one will infer from thence, that the clergy are the proprietors of the soil. Besides, it may be very much doubted, if the king were to receive the whole of his revenue in money, instead of the greater part of it in kind, whether there would not be an alarming scarcity of specie in the course of one or two years. Books have been written to demonstrate, that wherever the land is the property of government, science, and all kind of improvement, must be at a stand. And this is said to account for the ignorance of the inhabitants of Asia. In Persia, in many parts of Arabia, and some of the Turkish dependencies, the land is the actual property of the subject. It may be asked, are the Persians barbarous? or have not they made a considerable progress in poetry; for instance, since the time of Noushirvan, when we know the same regulations to have been framed as subsist at present.

Sir William Jones's authority may be adduced in favour of the personality of land. See Preface to Al Sirajiyyah, p. 9.

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however, from one person, that they were sometimes paid in specie. Since the king furnishes his troops with the various grains which are the produce of Persia, it is probably more advantageous for him to receive this part of his revenue in kind. Indeed, if we consider the little internal trade of Persia, and the very heavy drains which their foreign trade must make on the current specie of the country, it would appear almost impracticable for the king to realize his rents and taxes in any other manner.

As the greatest part of the land in Persia is watered by artificial means, its value, of course, depends upon the abundance or scarcity of this necessary article. Land that is well watered, sells for about twelve pounds a jureeb, and decreases in value to two.† The cultivators of land who have more water than they require, dispose of it at great advantage; a good well, with plenty of cattle and men, will water about eight or ten jureebs of land in the twenty-four hours.

As far as I could ascertain, land situated on the banks of a river pays no greater tax to government than that which is watered by artificial means. If a person occupies a portion of waste land, which he brings into a state of cultivation, and which has no claimant, he enjoys an exemption from the taxes for a certain period, and is at full liberty to bequeath it to his children, *or to dispose of it in any way he may think proper.*

But land watered naturally, as in Dushistan, may be considered as the property of the king, which any one may cultivate on paying the fixed rent to government on horses, mules, &c. some parts of it are, however, personal property. The soldiers of the state who cultivate land, are exempted from all taxes, but in the event of their being called upon service, they are obliged to abandon their crops to the superintendance of their friends.

† A jureeb of land is one hundred square cubits.

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Although the Urbabee land in Persia is certainly personal property, yet, by the institutions of the empire, the proprietor is not permitted to let his land remain uncultivated; or, in other words, he is obliged to pay the same annual tax to government, as if his lands had been under a state of cultivation.* But as it is the mutual interest of the proprietor, and of government, that his lands should be as productive as possible, this is a case which must rarely occur.

I believe this is a tolerable correct outline of the present financial institutions of Persia. That other regulations may have formerly existed is possible; but I must confess, that the result of my enquiries by no means authorize my forming such an opinion.† It now remains for me to state the officers who are appointed by government to realize the *rents* upon the *Shahee* land, and the *taxes* upon the *Urbabee*.

The *Moostoufee* is the keeper of a register, containing a statistical account of the value, the produce, and the annual amount of the taxes of the lands committed to his management.‡ It is his business also to keep a regular account of the receipts and disbursements made on account of government. The Quloontur is another officer of government, whose duty it is to furnish the troops with provisions, by giving an order on the Umberdar, or keeper of the royal granaries, which is countersigned by the Moostoufee. In the various parts of Persia, there are royal granaries, established for receiving the rents and taxes of government, which are entrused to the management of an Umbardar. The Hakim, who is invested with a general controul over these officers, enforces the claims of government, either by punishing or confining the cul-

* The land in the vicinity of Bassora, a dependancy of the Turkish empire, is personal property, may be sold and bought at will.

† See Appendix. No. I.

‡ The prime minister is called Moostoufee ool Moolk.

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tivators.* These officers have, of course, a number of subordinate ones under them, who are dispersed among the different villages within the circuit of their authority, and make reports of all occurrences to their immediate superiors.

* There has been much dispute about the word Ry-yut, which some say means a subject, and others a cultivator. In Persia it signifies a subject; the word *zara* is the term applied to all cultivators, and means literally a tiller of land.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the Government.

The government of Persia is well known to be despotic. The will of the king is under no controul from the laws of the empire, nor (as is said to be the case in Turkey) is his power under any restraint from the dominion of Mooslim priests. His rule is, therefore, as arbitrary as is possible for it to be; and perhaps Persia is the only country where the baneful effects of despotism are not checked by the influence of some other body in the state. But although the king governs with uncontrolled authority, he would incur much hazard were he to attempt imposing a trifling additional tax on his subjects, however salutary and beneficial it might be for the peace of his country. He may confiscate the property of his nobles, or depopulate whole districts in safety, and with applause; but the imposition of a tax would risk the existence of his government.* He has full power to assume the whole; but they deny him the liberty of taking a part of their property.

One of the most serious evils of a despotic monarchy is the spirit of tyranny which pervades every class and description of people. Each individual, to the utmost extent of his power, is a despot; and the connivance of the king is purchased with exorbitant presents.† This system of tyranny descends, in a successive series, from the king to the servants of his governors and officers of

* See Hume's Essays, vol. i. p. 16. I have given an instance of a merchant objecting to pay a most trifling tax, although his property was secured from all risk by the imposition of this duty.

† Hume's Essays, vol. i. p. 382.

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state; it returns, however, to its first source, and the government receives pecuniary satisfaction for the oppressive administration of its servants. Yet, notwithstanding the sufferings of the persons who live under a despotic monarchy, I have not the smallest notion that one half of the inhabitants in Persia have the least desire for a change in their government. The nobles would naturally support the authority of their sovereign; and the military, who enjoy a share in the plenitude of his power, would be unanimous in favour of despotism.* The affections of such people are centered wholly in themselves; if neither they nor their immediate relations are sufferers, they contemplate the miseries of their neighbours and countrymen with indifference, apathy, and composure.

In Persia the very dregs of the people live in the hopes of being able to make others as unhappy as themselves; and, instead of endeavouring to improve their condition in life (for how long may they enjoy it?) they content themselves with fruitlessly repining at their adverse fates, and at the blindness of their superiors in not discovering their merits. Happy it is for them that they are predestinarians!

Mr. Locke seems to think, that by being exposed to the arbitrary power of one man, who has the command of one hundred thousand, you are secure from all other oppression. "He being in a much "worse situation who is exposed to the arbitrary power of one man "who has the command of one hundred thousand men, than he "that is exposed to the arbitrary power of one hundred thousand "single men."† On the contrary, you are not only exposed to the tyranny of a despot, but are likewise subject to the rapacity and injustice of all your superiors. I have repeatedly seen the *servants*

* The Persians expressed their astonishment at the description I gave them of the governments of Europe, and always remarked, that the enjoyment of unlimited power, however precarious, was infinitely superior to established but limited authority.

† Locke on Government.

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of the prince's dependents enter a village, and seize on whatever they required, without making the smallest remuneration to the inhabitants. If the villagers evinced the least reluctance, they were threatened with the bastinado, the usual recompense a poor man in Persia receives from his superior, so secure are the people of being oppressed only by one person. It therefore appears to me that you not only suffer all the dread and apprehension of a despotic monarchy, but also the violence and oppression of a lawless democracy.

It may be perhaps owing to this circumstance, that we find despotic governments so fertile in rebellions; the lower classes of people are always intent on preferment, and, as they can lose but little from want of success, they have every thing to hope for if their chieftain succeeds. None of them think of redress; nor do they expect, in the event of their placing their commander on the throne, that they will be more equitably ruled, or more mildly governed. It is the hope of advancement which influences them to flock to the standard of rebellion; it is this which insures their fidelity, and stimulates them to exertion. But if the advantages on the adverse side be greater, they feel no compunction in deserting their chieftain in the midst of his enemies.*

The predominating principle in a despotic monarchy, is to inspire the governed with a due sense of the precariousness of their situations, and an humble submission to the will of their superiors. And as the government is assured of the weakness of the people, it allows them, without any apprehension, the licence of murmur, and the freedom of complaint. Indeed the people of Persia are allowed to canvass the measures of government with much greater liberty than would be admitted of under a limited monarchy.†

* This was the case when Hoosun Qoolee Khan rebelled against his brother, the present king.

† The favourite song in Persia is descriptive of the misfortunes of Lootf Ulee Khan, the treachery of Hajee Ibrahim, and the overthrow of the Zund dynasty:

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It may be worth our while to notice the precaution which the present king has taken to ensure the permanency of his government.

When Hajee Ibrahim, the deceased minister, had advanced him

بالاي بان اندران — قشون آمد مازندران
باز هم صداي ني مياد — آواز پي در پي مياد
جنگي كرديم نيمي تمام — لطفي ميرود شهر كرمان
باز هم صداي ني مياد — آواز پي در پي مياد
حاجي ترا كفتم پدر — تو مارا كردي در بدر
خسرو دادي دست قجر — آواز پي در پي مياد
لعنت بريش تو پدر — آواز پي در پي مياد
لطف علي خان بوالهوس — زن بجست بردند تبش
تبش كجا طهران كجا — مانند مرغي در قفش
باز هم صداي ني مياد — آواز پي در پي مياد
لطف علي خان مرد رشيد — هركس رسيد آهي كشيد
مادر خواهر جامه درید — لطف علي خان بختش خابيد
باز هم صداي ني مياد — آواز پي در پي مياد
بالاي بان اندران — قشون آمد مازندران
بالاي بان دل كشا — مردست ندارد پادشاه
صبر از من و داد از خدا — باز هم صداي ني مياد
لطفعلي خان ميرفت ميدان — مادر ميكفت شوم قربان
دلش پر غم رخش كريان — آواز پي در پي مياد
لطف علي خانم هي ميكرد — كلاب بنات بامي مي خورد
بخت خابيد لطف علي خان — باز هم صداي ني مياد
اسپ نيله نوزين است — دل لطفي پر از خون است
باز هم صداي ني مياد — آواز پي در پي مياد
وكيل از قبر در آرد سر — به بيند گردش چرخ خضر
باز هم صداي ني مياد — آواز پي در پي مياد .
لطف علي خان مضطر — آخر شد بكام قجر
باز هم صداي ني مياد — آواز پي در پي مياد

" Seated on the terrace, he receives the accounts of an army approaching from Mazenderan ;

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to the throne, he of course held the appointment of Wuzeer; but the king, to counteract the power of this high office, conferred similar dignities on two other persons, who were looked upon as the second and third ministers of state. The authority, therefore, of Wuzeer of the empire was divided amongst three persons; and although Hajee Ibrahim undoubtedly enjoyed by far the greater share of influence, yet when the king found it politic to make away with his benefactor, he had formed a party who readily undertook the execution of his wishes.

He has observed the same system of policy in all the cities of his empire. The governors of districts may be considered as the civil officers of the state; they have no authority over the troops, but the commanders, in cases of exigence or alarm, are subject to heir requisitions. The commandant of the citadel is another independent authority, so that the office of Beglerbeg of Fars, which was formerly committed to the charge of one person, is now divided among a considerable number; and, as it is impossible for so many opposite interests to coalesce, the king is sure to be informed of

" still one report succeeds another. To finish the war, Lootf Ulee Khan departs for Kerman; " fresh and successive reports follow each other. I called thee, Hajee (Ibrahim), my father, and " you have driven me from my home; you have delivered Khoosroo into the hands of the " Qujurs; again fresh reports. Curses fall on you, O father! still new accounts. Lootf Ulee " Khan, was he beloved by all? his wife and children are carried to Tubus. But what has he to " do with Tubus or Tuhran? confined like a bird in the cage. Still reports are brought, and still " one report succeeds another. Lootf Ulee Khan was brave, every one lamented his misfortunes. " His mother, his sister, regret him; but, alas! his fortune declines. Again another report; an " army comes from Mazendaran; he wants the power of royalty. Seek patience from him, and " justice from God. Still fresh accounts arrive; Lootf Ulee Khan seeks the field; his mother " offers up herself for his safety, her heart overflowing with grief, her cheeks bedewed with tears. " Again fresh news is brought; Lootf Ulee Khan performed wonders; he exhilirated himself " with wine and rose-water; but his fortune slept. Again he receives fresh accounts; he is " mounted on his famous horse, his heart a prey to anguish. Still he gets fresh accounts; the " Wakeel sees from the grave the decline of his house. Again and again arrive fresh reports; " but Lootf Ulee Khan, reduced and distressed, sinks under the fortune of the Qujurs."

This song, like an English ballad, has more rhyme than sense, which has often obliged me to guess at the meaning.

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whatever may be done contrary to his orders. His government has only been disturbed by two rebellions; and it is probable that, by this system of counteracting the power and authority of his ministers and officers of state, his reign will be of longer duration than is usually the case in despotic monarchies.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the King.

THE present king of Persia ascended the throne under a variety of advantages which rarely occur in a country where the only claim to sovereignty depends upon the sword. At the time of his uncle's decease he was at Sheeraz; upon this event he advanced towards Tuhran, and was fortunate enough to gain possession of this important place. It was at this place where all the treasure of the empire was deposited, and the families of all the principal officers of the realm. He by this means secured the affections of the soldiery, and the fidelity of all the principal officers in the state. Hajee Ibrahim, the most considerable and respectable person in the empire, declared himself in his favour; and it was chiefly owing to his exertion and influence, that the king met with so little resistance in the accomplishment of his wishes.

Futih Ulee Shah, the present king, is about seven and twenty years of age; he is a Qajjir, an inconsiderable tribe in the neighbourhood of Tuhran, and of no repute before the accession of A Moohummud Khan to the throne of Persia.* Indeed, during the reign of Kureem Khan they were in general disrepute, nothing being more common than the people of the Bazar refusing to sell them any article, on the plea that they had nothing fit for a Qajjar

* All great men have an illustrious pedigree. It is said the prime minister, whom Nadir Shah seduced the unfortunate Tahmasp Shah to murder, was an ancestor of the present royal family. He was a namesake, and a Qajjar.

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sufficiently bad and vile.* But now, owing to the very great partiality the king evinces for his tribe, they have become the most considerable people in the kingdom; and the name of Qajjar is detested and feared in every part of the empire of Persia. All the responsible trusts are conferred upon them: and the present governor of Isphahan, and of the district of Irak, was elevated from his former situation of a seller of greens, to his present station, merely because he was a Qajjar.

The manners of the king are said to be very dignified, though at the same time very affable and prepossessing; and he is allowed to possess all the exterior accomplishments of a Persian. In his person he is superior to most men; and the immense length of his beard (a gift highly valued by the Persians), is a perpetual theme of discourse and admiration. He has been engaged in no military enterprise, and in consequence of this the public opinion deny him the only Persian virtue, courage.† His annual expeditions towards Khorasan are made with the view of engaging the attention of his subjects, and accustoming his troops to the fatigues of actual service, but without the smallest design of attempting the reduction of that province. The greatest blemish in his character, is the murder of Hajee Ibrahim, who regarded him as a son, and who had evinced for him the affection of a father. It is said that the minister used to take greater liberties than the extent of his services allowed: but I know of no excuse which can palliate such barbarous inhumanity.

The court of Tuhran is said (by those who have had many opportunities of judging), to be very magnificent and splendid, and in every respect becoming the sovereign of an extensive and flourish-

* A Moohummud Khan was a state prisoner during the reign of the Vakeel Kureem Khan. Upon his accession to the throne, he dug up the body, and destroyed the grave of his illustrious and lamented predecessor. I saw the tablet in one of the gardens.

† I have frequently heard the Persians say, that the King did not deserve the throne because he had not won it by the sword.

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ing empire. When the king receives any one in state, his sons, who are very numerous,* stand in a line from the throne; his ministers and officers of state behind them; and in the avenues are perhaps more than two thousand Gholami Shahees sumptuously cloathed. The master of the ceremonies introduces the stranger; and every thing is conducted with the greatest decency and solemnity. Permission of being seated in the presence of the king is only granted to embassadors and envoys of foreign states, and to, I believe, the Sheik Ool Islam, as the chief priest of the Mooslim religion. The king sometimes wears his regalia, and by allowing the rays of the sun to fall upon him, I have heard it was impossible to behold him with any degree of steadiness. His jewels are supposed to be superior to any potentate's in the world; indeed it would be surprising were it otherwise, as he has possessed himself of all the valuable jewels in his empire.

The king has now reigned above seven years; and were it possible to form an opinion of the duration of a despotic government, he has every prospect of reigning for a much longer period. His brother, Hoosun Qoolee Khan, who twice threw off his allegiance, is now in a place of sanctuary, which, I believe, the king respects more on account of the entreaties of his mother, than from any reverence he entertains for the place itself.† He is, however, guarded with the strictest vigilance, and it is almost impossible for him to effect his escape.

The King's eldest son (Mihr Ulee Khan) is an enterprising young man, much esteemed by the soldiers and military officers; and as his illegitimacy deprives him of all hopes of peaceably succeding his father, it is difficult to say what the intrigues of discontented noblemen might not excite him to attempt. He has frequently de-

* His family amounts to above fifty, several of whom were born on the same day.

† I learnt, on my last visit to Bushire, that his mother was dead; she was mother to both the brothers, and was excessively fond of her youngest son. By all accounts she was a woman of considerable ability, and was highly respected by all classes of people.

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clared to the king his father, that the sword should either secure or deprive him of the throne; and that it was his determination to overcome the obstacles which were placed in his way.* Such is the situation of princes in a despotism, that it is the only means they have of preserving their lives; and in the event of the king's death, Persia will again be deluged with blood; for as the princes are the governors of various districts in the empire, they have each the means of asserting their claims to the throne.

The King of Persia has revived a taste for literature, so scandalously neglected by his predecessors. He is himself a man of considerable taste and erudition, and is also a tolerable poet. As it is an unusual circumstance for sovereigns to be poets, I venture to produce a specimen of his compositions.

بوامق ار بنماي جمال خود يارا کند قد اي جمالت روان عزرارا
وکر تطاره کند طلعت ترا يوسف دکر هوس نکند ديدن زليخارا
بيا ببزم من امروز امروز دکام جانم ده مده بمن توازين پش و عده فردارا
رسيد يارچون خاقان بصد کرشمه و ناز ربود باز يک عشوه دل زکف مارا

"If thou wert to display thy beauties, my beloved, to Wamiq, "he would sacrifice the life of Oozra at the shrine of thy perfec- "tions. If Yoosoof beheld thy charms, he would think no more of "Zuleekha. Come to me, and comply with my wishes; give me "no further promises of to-morrow. When the mistress of Khaqan "approached him with a hundred graces, one glance captivated "his heart."

دل داده ام بانکه همه کاراو جفاست
کارش جفاست روروشب و کويد اين و فاست
چشم نو چشم نيست که اين عين فتنه است
بالا نباشد اينکه تو داري يقين بلاست

* A Moohummud Khan, who used to treat them with much kindness, once asked him what he would do were he king? The child, not more than five or six, instantly replied, that his first act would be to destroy him. This answer so enraged his grand uncle, that he ordered him to be strangled, but at the intercession of the present king's mother, pardoned him.

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ما شکده از جفاي تو خانا نميکنيم
بر ما هر آنچه ميکني از جور و کين رواست
خونم بدست خويش بريز اينکه خوش‌را نيست
دربست يار کشته شدن عين مدعاست
با انکه پير شد بسر کويت اي جوان
خاقان و باز کويش از کين که بيوفاست

" When I yielded my heart she began her cruelty, yet she terms " this tyranny faithfulness. Call not your eyes by their name, for " truly they are the source of affliction; the loftiness of thy stature " betrays thy pride.* I shall never complain of thee, my love! " for however great your cruelty, it must be proper. Destroy me " at once, for the height of my ambition is to die by the hand of " my mistress. Khaqan has watched near thy dwelling until he has " fallen into old age, and still you maliciously call him faithless."

The governor of Kashan was indebted for his appointment to his being an excellent poet. On his sending the king a present of one of his compositions, he expressed greater satisfaction at the gift, than at the sumptuous offering of Chiragh Ulee Khan, which amounted to some thousand pounds. He would, however, be sorry to have all his governors poets, and all their presentations poems. It is a great thing for him to have patronised one man of genius; it is seldom they are so well rewarded.

The sum of the present king's reign may be given in a few words. If he has not achieved any of the great actions which have distinguished the reign of his more illustrious predecessors, he must at least be allowed the negative virtue of having done little harm, a virtue infinitely superior to the ferocious conquests of Tamerlane, and the victorious massacres of the inhuman Nadir Shah.

* I cannot do justice to the king's quibbles.

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CHAPTER XXV.

Character of the Persians.

THE people of Sheeraz are supposed to be the most accomplished of the Persians; the name of Sheerazee stamps some degree of credit on the possessor, while that of Isfuhanee is expressive of deceit, cunning, and fraud; and this seems to be the common and established opinion. The people of Sheeraz appeared to me mean and obsequious to their superiors, and to their equals, if they had a prospect of advantage; but invariably arrogant and brutal in their behaviour towards their inferiors: always boasting of some action they never performed, and delighted with flattery, although they are aware of the imposition. I have repeatedly heard them compliment a person, either in his hearing, or in the presence of some one who would convey this adulation to his ears; and the instant that he has departed, their praises have turned into abuse, and they have, with malicious pleasure, exposed the character they not a moment before praised with fervent servility. Indeed, so loth are the Persians to admire any thing from which they can derive no advantage, as to confine themselves, in their expressions of admiration, to Bud neest, "It is not bad;" but if the property be their own, no words or description could do justice to its excellencies.

Their expressions of esteem or compliment are conceived in the most fulsome terms. "Your presence has made all Persia a garden: "Persia is unworthy of your acceptance." As an instance of this,

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I recollect the Sheikh, at Bushire, remonstrating against the rapacity of Chiragh Ulee Khan, the governor of Sheeraz, when he was informed of the arrival of his principal secretary. He began by enquiring after the governor's health; and when he was told that he had quitted the city, he readily observed, that now Sheeraz was worthless (Pooli seeah nu mee urzud), that it had lost the only ornament it possessed. Many more instances might be given, for they are perpetually occurring, but one is sufficient.

The military men in Persia are constantly boasting of the feats of their prowess, although it is probable that they were never in an action in their lives, or engaged in any expedition of the least danger. They cannot be denied, however, the virtue of courage, or at least of impetuous fury, for the lower orders frequently engage themselves in quarrels, which are often attended with bloodshed, and which they might have avoided with propriety. It is surprising how apt the military men (particularly those who come from the northern parts of Persia), are to quarrel; and upon the least provocation they resort to the sword. Their friends probably join in the fray; and it possibly may happen that two or three persons lose their lives before the dispute can be determined.

The better order of people, in Persia, are divided into two classes, the military and officers of state, and the merchants. The former, who receive a certain annual sum, which they are accustomed to expend, are excessively liberal, and rarely think of amassing any wealth for their posterity. The merchants, however, are always intent upon gain, it is the only subject which occupies their thoughts; and such is the ascendancy their penurious habits have gained over them, that they cannot forego an opportunity of the slightest advantage, though attended with disgrace and infamy. They have in general made their fortunes on the slightest foundation; and the consequence is, that their penury has proportioned itself to their prosperity. The military men are rapacious, and will be guilty of

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excessive meanness in their pursuit after money; but whatever malpractices they may be guilty of, and I believe they are guilty of many, it is never with a view of retaining their acquisitions.

It must be confessed that the Persians are pleasing and entertaining companions; but not the least reliance is to be placed on their words or most solemn protestations. You should always, therefore, be on your guard against their insidious offers; and to be so, it is necessary to distrust all their declarations. The manners of the Persians are formed, in a great degree, on the principles of Lord Chesterfield; they conceive it their duty to please: and to effect this, they forget all sentiments of honour and good faith. They are excellent companions, but detestable characters.

An enquiry into the language of a nation often marks the character of its inhabitants. This has been adopted by Hume and some other authors, in their enquiries into the manners of the Romans. I shall observe two circumstances regarding the Persians. A people who are given to a life of robbery and rapine, will necessarily have a number of words which express the various modes of plunder; and, excepting the Marrattas, I do not believe there is a language where the different gradations of robbery, to the perpetration of the most atrocious crimes, are more distinctly marked. The word *Dustmal* may give some notion of their habits of cleanliness. It signifies any thing for wiping the hands; and is applied to this purpose by the Persians, as well as being used for a pocket handkerchief. As they eat with their hands, a towel is indispensibly necessary; but they have no word to express an handkerchief, nor have they any other piece of linen for this purpose.

The Persians have but a faint notion of gratitude, for they cannot conceive that any one should *be guilty* of an act of generosity without some sinister motive. They reason upon their own feelings; and as they are conscious that they never perform any action but with a view to their own immediate advantage, they naturally infer

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that these motives operate with similar effect upon every other individual. Philosophers have held it for a maxim, that the most notorious liar utters a hundred truths for every falsehood. This is not the case in Persia; they are unacquainted with the *beauty* of *truth*, and only think of it when it is likely to advance their interests. They involve themselves, like the spider, in a net of the flimsiest materials, but which neither offers commencement nor end to the eye of investigation.

The generality of Persians are sunk in the lowest state of profligacy and infamy; and they seldom hesitate alluding to crimes which are abhorred and detested in every civilized country in the universe.

I am not conscious of having given an unfaithful picture of the character of the Persians. I have forborn to illustrate the extent of their vices; their virtues consist in being most excellent companions; and in saying this, we say every thing which can be advanced in their favour. Custom has doubtless made many of their vices appear to them in the light of foibles, but the sanction of custom will not soften the darker shades of the Persian character. The same argument cannot be advanced for them which has been urged in favour of the Greeks, for they have laws which stigmatize the crimes they commit.*

* See Smith's Moral Sentiments; also Hume.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

On the 31st of July I left Sheeraz on my return to Bushire. By the advice of the muleteer, and wishing to travel by a new route, I was induced to take the road by Feerozabad. This route is circuitous, and consequently not frequented by the caravans. We reached Doulutabad by one in the morning; our Munzil-Gah was in a westerly direction from Sheeraz, distant five fursukhs, and near a small village surrounded by a number of excellent gardens. Thermometer 86.

August 1st. Our route this evening was nearly south, and our encampment five fursukhs from our last Munzil-Gah. We found shelter in the ruins of a Surae, half a mile from Kuwur. The night was disagreeably cold; and I could not refrain from reflecting, that I had to prepare myself for the dust and heat of the Gurmseer. Thermometer 94.

2d. As you approach the hills, the road becomes stony, rugged, and dangerous; this circumstance obliged us to hasten our march, that we might make some progress before night. It was with much difficulty, and not before I lost two horses, that we arrived at Khajue, five fursukhs. I cannot determine our route; it was probably south-west.

3d. The road to Dihbur was infamous; in many places we believed it to be passable, because we found it to be so. Dihbur is a small village, one fursukh from Feerozabad. Feerozabad was formerly a city of considerable repute, and famous for the profligacy of its inhabitants. You will hardly find a house that has not

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a jar of wine in it; and in the evening the people resort to the terrace, where they drink wine without the smallest degree of scruple, and entertain themselves with the singers and public dancers of the town, who are represented to be excessively beautiful. Here are a number of tombs, gardens, and buildings worth seeing; the circumference of the city is equal to Sheeraz, but the houses are falling into decay. I cannot determine the site of Feerozabad, but it is certainly placed in D'Anville's map too much to the southward. The country all about is very fertile; the finest rice in Persia is said to grow in the environs of this city—south-west. Thermometer 100.

4th. We encamped near a spring, amidst the hills, five fursukhs from Dihbur: the heat to-day was intense; and though we did not reach our ground till near day-break, I found it impossible to sleep after sun-rise. Thermometer 106, 10 south-west.

5th. Our next stage was Burmih, the distance four fursukhs. Excepting this insignificant village of about twenty hovels, there is not a single habitation on the road for the distance of nineteen fursukhs, or ninety miles. Nor does this lamentable depopulation arise from badness of soil; on the contrary, it would, in many places, make abundant returns to the hand of industry. But under a despotic government poverty is a blessing, and misery a source of consolation. Thermometer 105, south.

6th. To-day we encamped near a spring of brackish water, five fursukhs from our former Munzil-Gah. The road nothing better, and the heat almost insupportable. Thermometer 110, south-west.

7th. We reached Bishgoon by three in the morning. These five fursukhs was over a road worse, if possible, than the one of the preceding night. Our Munzil-Gah was unfortunately in a plain of stones, which rendered the heat more intense than ever. This part of the country is infested with a tribe of robbers, called Mominsinees, who rarely allow a Caravan to pass without plundering it of one or two mules. We saw some strange people at a distance, and

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the fears of our muleteer determined them to be a body of this banditti: they however allowed us to pass without interruption.

During our night marches (but particularly this night), I have remarked, that about two hours before the dawn of day there has been every appearance of day-break; the horizon has become quite light, and in the space of a short time has been succeeded by impenetrable darkness. I shall not attempt to account for this phenomenon, whether it may be owing to rising exhalations, or any other cause, but it is what I have observed very often, not only in Persia, but also in India. The Persians have two mornings, the *Soobhi Kazim* and the *Soobhi Sadiq*, the false and the real day-break. They account for this phenomenon in a most whimsical manner. They say, that as the sun rises from behind the Kohi Qaf (Mount Caucasus), it passes a hole perforated through the mountain, and that darting its rays through it, it is the cause of the *Soobhi Kazim*, or this temporary appearance of day-break.* As it ascends the earth is again veiled in darkness, until the sun rises above the mountain, and brings with it the *Soobhi Sadiq*, or real morning. This story is similar in absurdity, and almost resembles the hypothesis of Cosmas Indicopleustes.

* Milton seems to allude to this fabulous story in the following lines:

" Hail, goddess of nocturnal sport,
" Dark-veil'd Cotytto, t' whom the secret flame
" Of midnight torches burns; mysterious dame,
" That ne'er art call'd, but when the dragon womb
" Of Stygian darkness spit her thickest gloom,
" And makes one blot of all the air,
" Stay thy cloudy ebon chair
" Wherein thou rid'st with Hecate, and befriend
" Us, thy vow'd priests, till utmost end
" Of all thy dues be done, and none left out
" Ere the babbling Eastern scout,
" The *nice morn on th' Indian steep*
" From *her cabin'd loop hole peep*,
" And to the tell tale sun descry
" Our conceal'd solemnity.

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To-day we left our Munzil-Gah at three, to pass the hills before we were benighted. I certainly did not expect to meet with worse roads in Persia than those we had passed; but the roads, like its inhabitants, surpass each other. The men were often obliged to take off the loads from the mules, that they might not be crushed to pieces in case of their falling; notwithstanding this precaution, two of our mules fell from a considerable height, but the water below being very deep, they fortunately escaped injury. Some disaster befel us every hundred yards; and it was not until we had been nine hours amidst the hills, that we extricated ourselves from our difficulties. We at length, and at two in the morning, reached Uhrum, six fursukhs from our former encampment. Thermometer 114.

In the evening I went to a stream which I had been recommended to bathe in, and which had brought me out of my way. I found the water to be excessively hot; so much so, that I could scarcely bear it. By the direction of the person who attends this place, I was to cover myself up in the warmest manner possible on coming out of the water: this brought on a profuse perspiration; and after some time, I went through this ceremony a second, and then a third time. This water is supposed to be a sovereign remedy against all disorders; and were I to mention the number of cures it is known to have performed, I should be taxed with childish credulity and absurd weakness. The water raised the thermometer to 140.

9th. Ulee Chungee is distant three fursukhs, and, in comparison with Bushire, is remarkable for its coolness, and for the sweetness of its water. The country all about is a plain of sand, and the eye is but seldom relieved by a cluster of date trees. At this season (August) you see whole families leaving their homes to take possession of the date trees they have purchased. Here they remain all the fair season, scarcely allowing inches of the tree protecting them from the sun, and all mules. Yem the conveniences of a house.

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Bahmunee is five fursukhs from Ulee Chungee, and about one mile from Reeshire.

The Portuguese and Dutch who formerly resided at Reeshire, had their houses of pleasure at this place. I remained encamped here a fortnight, preferring it greatly to Bushire, as an infinitely cooler and healthier situation. There are a number of gardens about this place, particularly of vines, which are sunk in wells, and which bear fruit about the end of June. Bahmunee from Bushire is about one fursukh.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the Hunting of the Persians.

MANY of the Persians, and particularly the Arabs on the coast and Gurmseer, pass much of their time in hunting. The country abounds with antelopes, foxes, and hares, and their greyhounds, if not so swift as those in Europe, are more savage.* They have brought their hawks to a great degree of docility, particularly one class, which they call the Churkh, and which is trained to catch antelopes. The Churkh resembles the Byree on the Coromandel coast, is nearly of the same size, but appears to be stronger. It is hunted with in this manner. When a herd of deer is discovered, one is separated from the rest by the dogs, and the bird being let loose, almost immediately pounces upon it, flapping its wings over the eyes of the antelope.† The animal endeavours to rid itself of the Churkh, by beating its head against the ground; but as the bird is perched on the upper part of its head, this attempt is of no avail. As the antelope stops the instant the Churkh pounces on it, the dogs soon come up to secure their prey. One of these birds will kill two, seldom three, antelopes in a day. This manner of

* None of the dogs in Persia hunt by the scent. Sir William Jones mis-quotes Nizamee in the following couplet:

" Sheer Sugi dasht choonki *boo* grift
" Sane Aftab uz a hoo grift."

It ought to be *Poo*, " *when the dog began to run.*" I shall leave the last line for those who pride themselves in discovering *Istulahee* meanings.

† Fryer calls them Muscovy Hawks, and says they cost from one hundred to four hundred pounds. Tavernier gives a different account.

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catching deer affords much amusement; it is much superior to the Cheeta-hunting in India.

The Churkh is reared with infinite pains and trouble; if it has not been well attended to by the Meer Shikal, and has not taken the usual medicines, it becomes lazy, and often flies away. You may hunt with this bird singly, or with another. There are other kind of hawks for catching partridges, quails, pidgeons, &c.

The wild ass is seldom hunted, owing to its very great speed; whenever it is, horses are stationed in places where it is most likely to run; and by continually charging your horses, you sometimes overtake this surprisingly fleet animal. In the mountainous parts of Persia they have the wild sheep and goat, both of them delicious food.

The Persians delight in keeping fighting rams; I think I never witnessed a more bloody or more cruel conflict than two of these furious animals engaging with each other. On these occasions the passions of the Persians are worked up to the highest pitch; and it often happens that a quarrel among the men succeeds a battle between the beasts.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of the Horses of Arabia and Persia.

THE horses of Arabia and Persia are considered to be superior to those of any country; and we may attribute the great improvement of our breed in England, to the introduction of Arabian stallions. Their spirit, docility, and vivacity is remarkable, and is only equalled by the gentleness and mildness of their tempers. It is very well known that the Arabs pay the minutest attention to their breed of horses, register their foal's pedigree, and will not purchase a horse who has not a certificate of his geneology.*

Nujd, the largest province in Arabia, and belonging to the Wuhabee, produces the finest and most valuable breed of horses. Their breeds are very numerous; and as I write in a country which is supplied with horses from Persia and Arabia, I trust that my mentioning the names of the best and most esteemed may be attended with some advantage.†

Those in Nujd are the following, and are named after the appellation of their tribes. Uby-yu, Soytee, Unezu, Humdanee, Reeshan, Motyran, Diheem, Huzmee, Shumytee Kohilan. Some of the breeds have been introduced into the neighbouring countries, and are distinguished by the same appellations.

The horses of Bine Khalid, and those of Quteef, a town on the main, opposite Bahrein, are called *Buree*, or horses of the desart,

* These geneologies are probably invented for them.

† This work was originally printed in India.

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and are reckoned superior to any other breed ;* those of *Moontufij*† are Juifan and *Furuju*, the horses of *Chaub*, *Wuznan*, and *Nuswan*; those of *Huwezu*, *Reeshan*, and *Nuswan*.

The Arabs of Bagdad are of little repute or value; these are in general the horses which are exported to India: they cost from seventy to two hundred piastres (six and fifteen pounds).

Whenever a colt is foaled, the Arabs immediately bend its tail, which effectually answers the purpose of nicking; and to make its ears incline a little towards each other, they pass a small string through each of them, and which continues fastened for eight or ten days.

The horses of the Dushistan, or the low land beneath the Persian mountains, are reckoned more violent and headstrong than the breeds from which they are descended. Their heads are usually larger; indeed there is a difference in the whole of their appearance. Those which have been introduced, are the *Humdanee*, *Huzmee*, *Shumytee Mootyran*, and *Buree Daghee*. The generality of horses which are brought out of the gulf of Persia, under the denomination of Arabs, are a mixed breed, between the Bagdad horse and the Arab, or between the Arab and some horse of no value. Indeed it is not without much trouble and expence that you are able to procure a genuine Arab of high blood.

The horses in Eeran are strong, active, and tractable; much larger than the Arab, but inferior in spirit. The Persians have a proverb among them, "that an Arab, if wounded, will still face "danger, but that an *Eeranee* is always endeavouring to avoid it."

The *Wukeel Kureem Khan* introduced a breed between the Arab and the *Toorkuman*, which is much esteemed. They are called

* Any thing which inhabits the desart is called *Buree;* a most excellent class of hawks are called *Buree*

† The Moontufij Arabs are those we called Moontufeek, seated on the banks of the Euphrates. Chaub is the country below Bussora, the capital *Dorack;* Huwezu is to the northward of Bussora, and is under the Persian government.

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Khoonzad, brought up in the house. The breeds of the following persons are considered to be the best. The *Wukeels, Sadiq Khan, Sheikh Ulee Khan, Nusur Ulee Khan, Jafir Khan.* These horses may be always distinguished from the Arab by their size, their head, which is much larger, and their legs, which are not in general so well proportioned.

The horses of Khorasan are clumsy, heavy, dull animals, possessing great strength, and capable of travelling immense distances. The cavalry of Persia are either mounted upon these horses, or the Toorkumanee; I had formerly occasion to notice the length of their marches. The breeds of the following persons are in most repute: *Eesa Khan* of *Turboodee, Moomish Khan Koord, Ulee Khan Koord, Ubdoola Khan.*

The *Toorkumanee* horses have all the faults of the Khorasanee, with a short, thick, and clumsy neck, Their breeds are *Kulgoom, Yumoot, Ukhur Julee, Syyud Mihir Choolq.* Besides these they have innumerable other breeds; but I have already trespassed too long on the reader's patience to expect a continuance of it.

It is an erroneous opinion that horses are not allowed to be exported from Persia, or that they are of enormous prices.* On the contrary, horses are very cheap, the best seldom selling for more than forty pounds; and it is very well known that horses are brought from Persia to India in the greatest abundance. The Qujurs have a proverb amongst themselves, that with a sword of three *Tomans*, and a horse of thirty, they are superior to any troops in the world.

* Vide Encyclopedia Britanica—Persia.

The Sheikh of Bushire, I learnt, intends to impose a duty of thirty piastres on every horse sent to India. Owing to some disputes, the exportation of horses from Bussora has been prohibited.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

Of the Date Tree.

The date tree is one of the greatest curiosities in nature. The sexual difference in this tree is more strongly marked than in any other; indeed, so strong as not to escape the eye of a common observer. About the month of March and April, the Arabs begin to impregnate the female plant with the male, and were they to omit doing this the fruit would be abortive.* It has been supposed that the leaves of the male tree being scattered about the female, is sufficient to answer every purpose; but this is by no means the case, the female plant must be impregnated, or else will not produce ripe fruit. There are usually about two males in a plantation of fifty date trees, which are reckoned sufficient to fructify this number of trees. The Arabs take great pains in the cultivation of the male palm, and, as it never produces fruit, all their endeavours are directed to enable it to impregnate as great a number of trees as possible.

The Arabs and Persians seem to have been long acquainted with the difference of sexes in the vegetable world; and although I have not been able to trace it farther back than to *Nusrood Deen*, the author of the *Ukhlaqi Nasiree;* yet I have been credibly informed, that this difference has been noticed by a variety of authors whose works I have not been able to procure.† The date tree is a tender

* Vide Appendix, No. II. See Kempfer's Amœnitates Exoticæ.

† Vide Appendix, No. III. Some of the Persian philosophers insist, that the same difference exists amongst minerals. Nusrood Deen flourished in the fifteenth century.

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and delicate plant. If it remains for any time immersed in water, it quickly withers and dies; and, instead of shooting forth a number of sprouts like other trees, if you cut off its head it perishes immediately.* Neither will it bear fruit from the graft of its *genus*, it must be impregnated by its own species.

There are a number of date trees in various parts of India; none of them bear fruit; and it is not to be doubted that the only reason for this, is to their not being impregnated by the male tree. The experiment is surely worth the trial.

* This is the case with the pine, the cypress, cedar, and one or two other trees.

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CHAPTER XXX.

Of the Dum.

Among other things which the Persians arrogate to themselves, is the power of resisting the force of animal poisons. This virtue is not participated in common; it is the reward of fasting and meditation, but which may however be conferred on whomever the person endowed with this gift may think proper. It is called *Dum*, because whenever they extend this favour, they breathe on a piece of sugar, or any thing else, and bid the person swallow it. The Persians impose a firm reliance on this gift; so much so, that it is the usual practice, when the wheat is ripe for cutting, for a number of peasants to flock into Sheeraz, to acquire this antidote against noxious animals from a celebrated man called Sheikh Ghuffoor.

Without incurring the stigma of credulity, or of using a *traveller's privilege*, I trust I may be allowed to relate what fell under my own observation. I had a servant, called Ulee Beg, who possessed this gift of the Dum, and the stories they told me of him I invariably treated with the greatest ridicule. Mr. Bruce, who is now at Bushire, told me, that he saw him catch two snakes, one of which bit him so violently, as to leave some of its teeth in the wound. This was easily reconciled, the snake was not poisonous; indeed, I believe none of them are at Bushire. Sometime after I was at Sheeraz, a very large scorpion was found under my bed; Ulee Beg was called, and he certainly took up the scorpion without the smallest hesitation. I saw the animal strike his sting repeatedly in the man's flesh, and he

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persisted that he felt no pain. I asked the other servants to do the same, but they refused; and the next morning, when I examined the man's hand, there was not the smallest sign of its having been stung. The sting of a scorpion is said to give exquisite torture; I have seen it swell the part to an enormous size. How the man escaped feeling any inconvenience it is impossible for me to guess, as I am confident he had no time to make any preparation, nor did he make use of any antidote against the effects of the sting of the scorpion. At the same time it would be truly ridiculous to assign the same cause for this escape as is most conscientiously believed by the Persians.

This man now lives at Bushire; and should any person, visiting that place, wish to ascertain the veracity of this account, I have no hesitation in supposing, that this man will allow him to procure any kind of scorpion he may think proper, and that he will allow himself to be stung by it.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

Of the Wuhabees.

I HAVE formerly taken notice of the Wuhabee Arabs, and I shall now give as correct an account as I am able of the religion and history of this people. The founder of this religion, Ubdool Wuhab, was a native of Ujunu, a town in the province of Ool Urud; some have been of opinion that Moola Moohummud, the son of Ubdool Wuhab, was the first person who promulgated doctrines subversive of the Moosulman faith; however this may be, it is certain that one or other of these persons was the founder of the religion of the Wuhabees, and the name inclines me to believe Ubdool Wuhab.*

Both these persons were great travellers; they studied under the principal Moohummedan doctors at Bussora and at Bagdad, and afterwards went to Damascus, where Ubdool Wuhab first began to avow his religious principles. The priests were alarmed at the tendency of his doctrines; he was obliged to fly from this city; and on his arrival at Mousul, he publicly supported the purity, excellence, and orthodoxy of his tenets. After a short stay at Mousul, he returned to his own country, and had soon the good fortune to convert the governor of his native town, and many of the principal Sheikhs. It is alledged that Moolla Moohummud received the sister of his protector in marriage, and that soon after he had the ingratitude to murder his benefactor, affirming, that he was an

* I have Niebuhr also to support me.

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oppressor and a tyrant, and that his love of justice would not allow him to overlook such detestable crimes, even in a beloved relation. This story does not appear to me to be worthy of credit: I notice it as I have made mention of Moolla Moohummud, but it was probably the invention of some bigoted and rancorous Moosulman, willing to describe the character of this religious innovator in the blackest colours.

Ubdool Wuhab was regarded by his new proselytes in the light of an independent lawgiver; and he prudently exerted his authority to compose the differences existing among his converts, and by this means put himself at the head of the most powerful party in Nujd. His religious furor induced him not only to propagate his opinions by argument and persuasion, but also with all that intolerant zeal and holy cruelty which marked the rise and progress of Mahometanism. Ubdool Wuhab greatly extended his conquests, and in a short time gained possession of nearly the whole of Ool Urud.

On his death, Ubdool Uzeez succeeded him, and continued to follow the same measures for conciliating the Arab Sheikhs as had been pursued by his father.* This new religion, which had sprung up in the midst of Arabia, excited the attention, and roused the indignation of the orthodox Sheikhs, who could not bear the notion of the Wuhabees ridiculing with contempt the legends and tales which they so conscientiously believed.

The Wuhabees are accused of professing the following belief:— "That there is one just and wise God; that all those persons called "prophets are only to be considered as just and virtuous men, and "that there never existed an inspired work nor an inspired writer." Ubdool Wuhab, however, thought it necessary to impose some religious observances on his followers, and has interdicted the use of tobacco, opium, and coffee; indeed I have met with many

* Some accounts make Saoud the father of Ubdool Uzeez.

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Moosulmans who have thought it contrary to their religion to smoke.*

Among a number of the civil ordinances of the Wuhabees, are the following:—Illegal to levy duties on goods the property of a "Moosulman; on specie, the Zukat, or two and a half per cent.; "land watered naturally to pay ten per cent.; artificially five per "cent.; the revenues of conquered countries to belong to the com- "munity; the revenues to be divided into five parts, one to be "given to the general treasury, the rest to be kept where collected, "to be allotted for the good of the community, for travellers, and "charitable purposes; a Moosulman who deviates from the pre- "cepts of the Koran to be treated as an infidel; the destruction of "magnificent tombs a necessary act of devotion."

The extensive depredations of these reforming Arabs at length excited the resentment of the Pasha of Bagdad, who sent a formidable force against them, under the command of the Sheikh of Moontufij, who had distinguished himself some years before by the capture of Bussora.† This force penetrated as far as Lahsar, which is at no great distance from Dury-yu, the capital of the Wuhabees. The fort of Lahsar was taken, and the Sheikh of Moontufij was resolved on destroying the capital of the infidels. Ubdool Uzeez saw no way of averting the impending blow, but by employing the enthusiasm of his followers against his enemy; he accordingly selected a favourite slave, and promised him eternal happiness if he succeeded in destroying the object of his fears.

The tent of an Arab is open to every one; the slave, who was armed, according to the custom of his country, with a sword and a spear, found an easy entrance. He immediately asked for the Sheikh of Moontufij, who happening to be present, called him towards him. The slave had ascertained his object, and he instantly ran the Sheikh through the body with a spear, crying out, "that

* See Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 164. † See Franklin's Tour, p. 263.

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" the Wuhabee had promised him heaven." It is needless to add, that he fell a victim to his bigotry. Bin Saoud, the son of Ubdool Uzeez, had been posted with some troops near the enemy, and on perceiving the confusion which prevailed amongst them, on the loss of their chief, attacked them, and made an indiscriminate havock among them.

Thus ended the first expedition against the Wuhabee, which gave rise to another, infinitely more calamitous and disgraceful to the Turks.

The Pasha of Bagdat exerted all his means to wipe off his former disgrace, and sent down to Bussora an army of about twenty thousand men, well supplied with every possible necessary. These troops, like the former, penetrated to Lahsar, and remained encamped there some months. Abdool Uzeez, who continued at Dury-yu, bribed two of the principal commanders to withdraw with their troops. The next morning Bin Saoud attacked the remaining force, gained an easy victory over them, plundered them of their baggage, and took a number of them prisoners.

Since this, I believe, they have not been attacked by the Turks, though the Persians are determining every year to unite themselves with the Pasha of Bagdad, and uproot this dangerous heresy.

The Shureef of Mecca, about nine years ago, undertook an expedition against Ubdool Uzeez, and arrived within a short distance of Dury-yu. Ubdool Uzeez resorted to his usual measures for defeating an enemy. He sent to the Shureef, begging to know his wishes, and expressing a hope that he might be left in quiet possession of his capital. A present for Pooli Quwuh, or expences for coffee, accompanied this message; and he likewise declared his readiness to send out his son as a proof of his good intentions. This was accordingly done, and a communication established between the Shureef's camp and Dury-yu.

As soon as the projects of Ubdool Uzeez were ripe for execution,

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he wrote to his son to prepare himself the next day for attacking the Shureef's camp. This service was to be performed at twelve o'clock, a time of the day when all the Arabs are asleep, or lying down to rest. When Ubdool Uzeez approached, with his people, the Shureef would not credit the report, and ordered the persons who brought him the accounts to be beat and confined. Bin Saoud and his attendants, who had never been disarmed, on seeing the approach of Ubdool Uzeez, instantly attacked the unsuspicious Arabs, who were immediately routed and put to flight. The Shureef fled on the first alarm, and effected his escape with great difficulty, leaving his camp and baggage a prize to Ubdool Uzeez.

Ubdool Uzeez has lately gained over the Utoobees to his cause, who are the most powerful of the Arab states on the Arabian coast, and has acquired, in consequence, a command over the navigation of the gulf of Persia.

The Utoobees were lately waging a war with the Persians and people of Bussora: during my stay at Bushire they kept that place in continual alarm. The Imam of Muscat, who had the command of the forces, besieged the Sheikh in his capital, and seized on the island of Bahrein; but in the end the Utoobees were victorious, and the Imam obliged to conclude a peace. A party of the Wuhabees last year (1802) attacked Kurbulu, celebrated among the Persians as being the burial place of the sons of Ali, destroyed the tombs, and plundered the town and pilgrims. I met several of the people who had been there at that period, and they all agreed in complaining most bitterly of the cruelty of the reformers.

It must be recollected, that the destruction of the holy sepulchres would alone be considered as an enormous act of impiety and cruelty; I am led to think this the more probable, as some Armenians, who had fallen in with a party of Wuhabees, gave me a very favourable account of their honesty and humanity. The wars, however, between the Utoobees and Persians were barbarously

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savage; it was a constant practice of both parties to murder every person they took prisoner.

The force of the Wuhabees is very considerable, probably eighty or ninety thousand; and as their expeditions are conducted with great celerity and secrecy, they keep all the neighbouring countries in perpetual apprehension. When I was at Bassora, the people were in expectation of being attacked.

The infirmities of Ubdool Uzeez, who is more than eighty years old, have obliged him to relinquish the command of his armies to his son, who is represented to be a bold and enterprizing young man.

Whenever an expedition is undertaken, the chiefs are directed to be at a certain place by such a time; and it is so contrived, that a large body shall meet at a particular spot without knowing the designs of their leader. This force is generally mounted on camels, and their arms are chiefly a sword and a spear. They have few guns or matchlocks; those which they have are very bad.

Since finishing this, intelligence has been received of their having attacked and plundered Tyeef, Mecca, and Medina. They have, in consequence, violated the sacred law which forbids armed men approaching within a certain distance of the temple.

They have thus destroyed the foundation stone of Mahometanism; and this mighty fabric, which at one period bade defiance to all Europe, falls, on the first attack, at the feet of an Arab reformer. The event may make a great change in the Muhammedan world; for it appears to me almost certain, that the pilgrimages to Mecca have had nearly as great an effect in supporting this religion, as the first victories and conquests of Muhammed.

Our speculations, on the probable effects of this event, might be carried to a great length; I shall content myself, however, by observing, that the temper of the times is greatly altered since the æra of Muhammed, and that however much Arabia or Persia may be

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convulsed by religious wars, it is almost impossible for the contagion to extend any further. Numberless are the superstitious observances which have been grafted on the religion of Muhammed in India; and the reliance which the Mooslims place on their conforming to a number of Hindoo customs, totally disqualify them for adopting or understanding a reasonable belief.

At my last visit to Bushire (1804), I heard the intelligence of Ubdool Uzeez having been assassinated, it was supposed, by an inhabitant of Kurbulu, whose family had been murdered, and house destroyed, when that place was taken by the Wuhabees. The Wuhabees are now a considerable people, sufficiently powerful to resist the divided efforts of the Turks, whose power in Arabia must decrease in proportion to the aggrandizement of this roving race of reformers. Indeed the Turks have already found it expedient to court, and even purchase the friendship of their Arab subjects. They have extended their depredations over the greatest part of Arabia; the fate of Bassora may be said to depend upon the clemency of the conqueror, or rather to his being engaged in other pursuits. Many places in the Red Sea have been obliged to purchase the good will of the reformer.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

Mode of counting Time.

THEY have no method of counting time with any degree of exactness in Persia. Their day is divided into three spaces; from sun-rise to noon, from noon to three o'clock (Usur), and from that time to sun-set. In answer to any enquiries you may make, they will reply, that it is so many hours after sun-rise, or so many to noon: their computation of time is therefore excessively erroneous. The Moouzzen,* who acquaints the people from the top of the mosque that it is noon, generally guesses when the sun has crossed the meridian by the length of the shadows, or by the sun's shining on a certain spot at that particular time, so that his mode of computation must be liable to a number of accidents; and I have often remarked, that it has been one before they have made it twelve o'clock.

The Persians compute their time by lunar months; and, instead of reckoning their days from noon to noon, or, according to the vulgar method, from midnight to midnight, they count them from sun-set to sun-set: so that our Thursday night is, according to them, Friday night. They delight in our watches, particularly if they get them for nothing; their curiosity, however, soon spoils them,† and

* The Moouzzen is the person who calls the people to prayers, by crying out at the appointed hours from the tops of the mosques.

† They have a story of an inhabitant of Tung-steer (to the southward of Bushire), finding a watch which some one had dropped. He held it in his hand till he heard it beating, which he thought to be extraordinary, as it neither walked nor moved. He put it to his ear, and heard it

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if this were not the case, their perverse mode of counting time renders the best watch of little service.*

I have seen some of their almanacs, or rather ephemeris', full of predictions of lucky and unlucky hours, but otherwise perfectly correct. The common people of Persia are totally ignorant of any space of time beyond a month, and that they are enabled to estimate by the various changes of the moon. If you enquire how old they are, they reply, I don't know; and they could no more tell you whether they were thirty or forty, than they could solve a problem in Euclid. The seasons may possibly give them some slight notion of a longer space of time, but it will be confused and indistinct.

more distinctly. After considering some time he cried out, Ae qoorm saq too kodj,aee durbia, "Wretch, where are you? come out!" and threw it in a passion on the ground. The watch still went; he then very deliberately took up a large stone, and broke it to pieces. The noise ceased, and congratulating himself upon it, he cries out Akhir kooshteed, "Have I killed you!"

* The Persians insist upon the day being always of twelve hours, and therefore will have the sun to set at one time.

† The Persians, I have before remarked, impose great faith in judicial astrology. I have known Europeans to have become converts to this system, without possessing the genius of Dryden or (according to Bishop Burnet) Lord Shaftesbury. But people of no talents can only imitate men of genius in their eccentricities and failings.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of the Coins in Persia.

Few of the coins which are current in Persia are coined in that empire; those of the most general circulation are the Qooroosh, or Peastre of the Turks, and the Mujjur, or Dutch ducat. The consequence of this want of standard coins of the empire, and the introduction in their stead of foreign coins, is a constant fluctuation in their value: so much so, that it is impossible to form a notion of the value of the gold coins for any length of time.* Indeed monies which are current in one city, will probably not pass at the next; and, excepting the Qooroosh and the Tooman, I know of no coin which you can receive but to considerable disadvantage.

The current coins in Persia are the following; besides which are a number of others, not however so common or so generally received.

PERSIAN COINS.				FOREIGN COINS.		
2	Pooli Seeah,†	1	Gaz.	Dutch Ducat - - -	6	Piastres.
10	Gaz - - -	1	Shahee (small silver coin).	Doo Bootee Venetian	6½	Ditto.
2	Shahee - -	1	Moohummudee.	Fundookhee (Turkish)	4	Ditto.
5½	Moohummudies	1	Qooroosh (Turkish).	Zur Muhbooh (Egyptian)	3	Ditto.
10	Qooroosh - -	1	Tooman (gold coin).	German Crown - -	2½	Ditto.
4	Ditto - - -	1	Kureem Khanee (do.).	Rceal - - - - - -	2¼	
1	Qooroosh ¼ -	1	Nadir Shahee.	Real - - - - - -	33	Moohummudies.
14	Gaz - - -	1	Tefleesee.	Quarter Peastre		

It may appear extraordinary that the coins of other kingdoms should be the prevailing coin in the empire of Persia. The coins

* The governors of districts will alter the standard value of coins without assigning the smallest reason.

† The Pooli Seeah is a small copper coin, or a square piece of copper.

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of Europe are not only introduced into Persia by the way of Constantinople, but also by that of Russia, whence large sums of money are brought to purchase various articles of merchandize, particulary silk, shawls, &c. Specie to a large amount is likewise brought from Constantinople to purchase skins, cloths, tobacco, and various articles of luxury. But notwithstanding this great importation of specie into Persia, I much doubt whether it equals the large sums which are annually exported to the different ports of India.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

Departure for Bassora.

On the 7th of September I embarked on board the Panther, one of the Company's cruizers, for Bassora. With a fair wind this passage may be performed in two or three days; but as the north-west winds prevail at every season of the year, it is usually from six to twelve days. At Khargh (Carrick, an island which formerly belonged to the Dutch, and is now dependant upon the Sheikh of Bushire) vessels take in their pilots for Bassora. The pilotage is the only revenue which the Sheikh derives from this island, as it furnishes little within itself but sweet water.

The pilots are scandalously ignorant; so much so, that they account themselves particularly fortunate if they carry up a vessel without running her aground. It is surprising that the captains of ships are not permitted to be their own pilots, as it would be difficult for them to be guilty of greater mistakes, or be more ignorant of this navigation, than the Arab pilots. A pillar erected at the mouth of the river is all that is requisite; and when we consider that the packets are sometimes delayed a week or a fortnight, owing to the intolerable ignorance of the Arab pilots, the importance of expediting the transmission of the overland dispatches, is surely superior to the consideration of a trifling expence.

The Carrick pilots are afraid to take advantage of a fair wind; instead of making directly for the bar, they skirt along the shore, uncertain of their situation, and depending upon their boat for

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information. If, instead of keeping the Persian shore in sight, they made the island of Peliche, the entrance into the river would be free from hazard or danger; and by being so much farther to the westward, the north-west winds would be more favourable.

The land near the mouth of the river is a very little above the surface of the water. The first object which strikes your eye is a few straggling date trees, and which at a distance appear to be a fleet of boats. But the instant you enter the river, a new scene presents itself to your attention; the verdure of the banks, the impenetrable forests of date trees, and the sweetness of the river water, make you doubt of being only a day's sail from Bushire. The banks are here and there cultivated with rice, but the date tree appears to engage the whole attention of the Arab peasant.

We arrived at Bassora on the 14th, where I was very politely received by Mr. Manesty, the Company's commercial resident at that place.

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A Turkish admiral is stationed here with eight or nine vessels; but he wisely never quits the river, as his ships are too old and crazy to encounter the least bad weather: he is appointed by the Pacha of Bagdad. This office used formerly to be conferred on persons appointed by the Ottoman Porte; but this, and that of Moosuleem and Duftudar, is now in the gift of the Pacha of Bagdad.

Bassora is admirably supplied with all kinds of fruits, such as apples, grapes, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, &c. and the cabbages and other vegetables are equal to any I have seen in England. The climate, however, of Bassora is extremely bad, the winter months are bleak and rainy, and the hot season is almost insupportable. That of Bushire is infinitely preferable; for although the air is not so sharp or cold, the rains are neither so heavy nor so frequent.

On the 5th of October I left Bassora on my return to India. Our pilot ran us a-ground on the bar; we, however, soon got off, and on the 7th, in the evening, we anchored off Bushire. It was here that I learnt the melancholy fate of Hajee Khuleel Khan, the Persian ambassador to his excellency the most noble the Governor General of India. The accounts which were given me of this unfortunate event, differed very inconsiderably from the real facts; and the whole of the people appeared fully impressed with the notion, that this accident was as sudden and unforseen, as the catastrophe was deeply and feelingly lamented. They had received these accounts but a few days; their conversation, therefore, was chiefly on this subject.

The Sheikh of Bushire, as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased ambassador, caused the Bazars to be shut up for three days, and observed such other ceremonies as are usual on the death of the principal noblemen in Persia. Hajee Khuleel Khan was a shrewd sensible man; but as his origin was obscure, he was

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not much respected by the chief families in the empire. His influence with the king excited their envy, and his riches and prosperity confirmed the sentiments they entertained concerning him. He was a successful and an extensive merchant; but his economy, I fear, will not escape the imputation of excessive avarice. He has left an only son, of about eleven years of age, who has been most nobly and liberally provided for by the British government in India.

On the 11th of October we left Bushire for Bombay, intending to touch at the port of Muscat. M. D'Anville, in his Mémoire, and Dr. Vincent, in his Voyage of Nearchus, have accurately fixed the geography of the Persian Gulf, particularly the latter, who has examined the whole coast, from the Indus to the Tigris, with the minutest correctness.

Niebuhr,* speaking of the Arabs on the coast, maintains that they are independent of the Persian government; but in this he is mistaken, as the Sheikhs never think of withholding their revenues, but when they conceive they can do it with impunity. It is true that, on the extremity of the coast of Laristan, the revenue is seldom realized; but this is owing to a want of power to enforce the just claims of government. The Imam of Muscat farms the revenues of Gambaroon, Hoormooz, &c. and his ambassador paid two thousand Toomans into the treasury of Sheeraz whilst I was in that city. It is difficult to determine when the Arabs established themselves upon the coast; they have not intermarried with the Persians, conceiving themselves greatly superior on account of their orthodoxy and Arab descent. Mun Urubum, I am an Arab, is a common boast among them; their claims to superiority may arise from their feeding on dates and salt fish, a food which they participate in common with their cattle, and their independence to their miserable and wretched condition. This applies only to the people of Laristan.

* Vol. ii. p. 137.

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The striking resemblance of the Arabs on the coast, and the Ichthyophagi of Arrian, did not escape the observation of Niebuhr. They certainly do not differ in their modes of life from that which is described to us by the ancients; but it will be difficult to reconcile us to the supposition of their being the same people as those known to the Greeks. Allowing that we can resolve the difficulty of their being Soonees instead of Sheeas, as the Persians, whose belief they would most probably adopt, I cannot account for their language, with all the improvements which followed the introduction of Muhammedanism; similarity of situation must produce similarity of manners; and where nothing but fish is produced, the people must necessarily be fish-eaters.

In the roads of Bushire is the wreck of one of Nadir Shah's ships, which was destroyed by the seamen, who had received no wages for more than a year, and who thought that this was the only remedy left them to procure their discharge. There are two roads at Bushire, the inner and outer; no vessel of considerable burden can go into the former, and the latter is about five miles from the town.

The heights of Halelu are reckoned a capital landmark by seamen, by the bearings of which they know their distance from Bushire. I am at a loss to account for the reason of this hill being called Halelu, its proper name is Khoormooj, and Halelu is low ground to the south-east.

It is curious that the accurate Niebuhr should have confounded these two places; but without detracting from his deserved merit, his chart of the gulf is not always correct. Khoer is a small port twenty miles from Bushire, variously spelt by Thevenot and Niebuhr. Along this coast you can procure sheep, dates, and wheat, which is lodged in recesses in the rocks to escape the hands of the Utoobees, who often land and destroy or seize whatever they can discover.

Cape Verdistan (Burdistan) is another land mark which ships generally look out for in their passage up the gulf; there is a

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dangerous shoal, which extends a considerable way to sea, and you are lucky if you pass by this place without meeting a gale of wind. Here they manufacture an excellent kind of cloth, which is much worn by the Arabs. Congon (Kungoon) is a large and populous town, drives a very considerable trade with the gulf, and also with the inland country.* Between this and Tæhire (Tahiree) there is another town of some note called Toombuck, also the villages of Shilee (Sheeloo) Burg and Ynat.

Following the coast, we come to Also (Uslo), and thence to Naban (Nabon), where there is a town of note, and a considerable river. The Portuguese had formerly a settlement here.† The gulf now becomes much narrower, and the eye is gratified with the sight of numerous islands, and with the view of the Arabian shore. The Arabian shore, however, presents but few objects to attract our notice; it is generally rugged, barren, and skirted with stupendous mountains.

We now come to Shevoo, and to the island of Sheik Shaib, called also by D'Anville, Busheab. Ila (Hilu) is a small village, opposite Inderabia (Hindurabee). Sheik Shaib is one of the largest islands in the gulf, is inhabited, and supplies itself with dates. On the coast we find the village of Nachelo (Nukhelo), which belongs to the Sheikh of the island of Sheik Shaib. You have here a view of Charrack (Charug) hills, which was one of the ancient boundaries of Karmania. From Keish you sometimes make the island of Nobflure (Fuloor), and see likewise that of Polior. Surdy (Sooree) is an island at no great distance, nearly east of Fooloor, and appears at first sight like a two-masted vessel. From Charug to Kank (Koonoog) we meet with the fishing towns of Husheenu Moghan (Mogo of Niebuhr), Mooloo Shibas, and Lunkur. To this place the inhabitants are of the Bine Hoolee Tribe.

* The Portuguese had once a considerable settlement here. See Gemelli Careri, Churchill's Collection.

† See Ives.

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The Persian words of Nabjoo and Toomb* unfortunately destroy Dr. Vincent's hypothesis relative to these two islands.† The next island is the largest and most fertile of any in the Persian Gulph; it is called Kishmee, by the Persians Jazeeru Duraz, or the Long Island, which Niebuhr so curiously converts into Djex Draz. This island is very productive; its grapes are famous, and it is said to contain near three hundred villages. Hunseam, in our charts Angar, is a small island not very distant from Ormuz.

Ormus (Hoormuz), so celebrated in history and poetry, is ill deserving of its fame, being a barren rock destitute of water. Gambaroon affords a great quantity of brimstone, which is a great source of revenue to the Sooltan of Muscat. The author of the Shah Ubas Namu dwells with complacency on the victories his sovereign gained over the infidel Portuguese, but he forgets to do justice to the assistance of the infidel English. I could hear of no positive name for the Coins; by some they are called Bunat, or the Sisters, and by others indiscriminately confounded with Salamu Rocks, near Cape Mussendom.

I must here take notice of a singular custom observed by the Indians in passing Cape Mussendom. To propitiate the deity of the place, they construct a small ship, with masts, sails, &c. and load it with a small quantity of all the different goods they may have on board. After going through some ceremony, they launch her into the sea, and if she makes for the shore, they conceive their prayers for protection to have been granted. *These rocks are said to be related to those at Muscat.*

The next mark for seamen is Bombareek Rock, on the Persian coast, or, according to Niebuhr, Cohumbaregh, which, he says, signifies loose sand. But its appellation of Kohi Moobaruk, will

* By Niebuhr written Tunb, which is correct; but an *n* before a *b*, in Persian, is pronounced m.

† Voyage of Nearchus, p. 329.

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admit of no other interpretation than the "Fortunate Rock." This rock has a very singular hole through it; and at a distance has the appearance of an island, though three miles inland. Cape Jask (Jashk) is a promontory to the eastward, surrounded with breakers, which I was once near enough to distinguish. There is a fabulous history related of a prince of Jask, which affords a variety of incident for a novel.* Before I quit the gulf, I shall take notice of the famous pearl bank which runs parallel with the Arabian shore from the 56th to the 48th degree east longitude. The pearls found here are held in great estimation, being both round and white; one thing which may contribute to the latter circumstance, is the oyster being opened immediately, instead of being allowed to putrify, as is the case with the oyster taken in the gulf of Manar.

Almost every season there are about two hundred large boats, for four months in the year, employed on this bank. The pearls which a boat may collect, are equally divided between the master of the boat, the diver, and the merchant who supplies them with money.

We arrived on the first of November at Muscat (Musqut), and found the heat, even at this period, very oppressive. The town is situate in a cove, at the foot of a lofty range of mountains, and is the capital of the Imam of that name. It was lost to the Persians in the time of the unfortunate Mir Hosein.† The Imam is by far the most powerful of any of the chiefs on the coast, possessing many vessels of large burdens. Close to Muscat is another town called Mutra, which is accounted preferable to the former place.

* Tavernier is accounted one of our best travellers; I have had few opportunities of trying his accuracy; where I have, he has disappointed me. His account of Hyderabad is shamefully imperfect; he makes the river Moosa the Kistna, places Jagernaut upon the Ganges, &c. His history of Hyderabad, and its Kings, must have been written from memory. I am happy to find that a co-temporary traveller does not give a more favourable opinion of him. See Churchill's Col. 4th, p. 138, 194. He was also ignorant of the Persian language.

† It was also once in the hands of the Portuguese; but their pious cruelty and holy perfidy excited the inhabitants to rise against them, and they were compelled to abandon the place.

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The Bazars of Muscat are bad and dirty, and smell most disagreeably of fish, which the poor people share in common with their cattle. Date stones are also an article of consumption among the poor. The country above the mountains is said to be cool and pleasant, and produces a little fruit. I cannot better shew how this fruit is esteemed, than by mentioning, that plantanes are either locked up, or else preserved in the bosom.* Muscat depends almost entirely on India for subsistence; and should it at any period be thought expedient to shut our ports against the vessels of the Imam, this place would soon sink into a fishing town.

The Imam has an elder brother, who is in a kind of confinement, although he enjoys ostensible liberty, and is the governor of a district. The present prince is only called Sooltan, the former title being due to his brother.

The coast of Meckran, opposite to Muscat, is rugged, inhospitable, and wild. Here and there are to be seen a few clumps of date trees, but the appearance of the country does not differ in the least from that on the Persian and Arabian shore. The opinion which the Arabians entertained of it, may give us sme notion of the country. It was invaded during the Califate of Omar by Abdoollah, and was soon subjugated to the Mooslim authority. But the unfavourable accounts which Abdoollah gave of the country, induced Omar to recall the troops; the entire conquest of Mekran was therefore suspended. In my two voyages up the gulf, I was so fortunate as to possess Dr. Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus; and although I have not the vanity to suppose that my evidence in favour of the accuracy of his descriptions, and the correctness of his delineation of the coast of Meckran and of Persia, will add to the celebrity of his work, I should still conceive myself guilty of injustice were I to withhold it. It is to be lamented the plan of

* It produces, however, excellent pomgranates.

† Tareekhi Tibree.

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his work did not admit of his charts being upon a more enlarged scale.

In making the harbour of Bombay from the westward, you are in soundings nearly three degrees from the shore; you learn this by observing a number of snakes, which vary in size as you approach the coast. On the 15th of November we arrived at Bombay; and I felt myself happy to be placed once more in the midst of a civil and hospitable society.

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PART II.

PERSIAN LANGUAGE, &c.

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CHAPTER I.

Persian Language, &c.

ANY attempt to give an account of the Persian language betrays so much presumption, that I would readily avoid this censure, did I not conceive it necessary to say something on this subject. The Persian language, as it is now spoken, is of no great antiquity; Nizamee, Sadee, and Hafiz may be considered as the principal improvers of this melodious and polished tongue.* Prior to this period, Arabic words were seldom introduced into any of their compositions; and although the language was purer, it wanted many of the graces and beauties which it now possesses. How harsh are the odes of Khaqanee compared with those of Hafiz! Ferdousee is perhaps a great exception; but even the Shah Namu will bear no comparison with the melodious numbers of the Musnuwee of Yoosoof, and Zuleekha, by Jamee, or the Lylee and Mujnoon of Hatif.

It is worth remark, that we are all apt to contemn what we do not understand, and to over-rate what we have with difficulty attained. In all accounts given of the Persian language, it is either greatly abused, or extravagantly praised. Sir William Jones has observed, that Persian sonnets are as capable of being set to music as any air in Metastatio. The singular sweetness of their compound epithets, and the frequent occurrence of words of similar sound, please the ear, though they may not always inform the understand-

* They flourished in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

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ing. All their thoughts may be expressed with ease and harmony; indeed there is very little difference between the language of the peasant and the man of education. The Persian language, for sweetness and harmony, has been compared to the Italian, and for colloquy it is said to rival the French.

Every nation has bad authors, and the Persians are by no means singular.* This has probably been one of the chief causes of the abuse, and praise which have been lavished on the Persian language. Its admirers have been blind to its faults, while their opponents have been deaf to the enthusiastic raptures of their adversaries. The Persians boast of some few authors who may be perused with pleasure, whose excellencies acquire a greater degree of lustre from the faults and obscurity of their cotemporaries, and who frequently demand our admiration by the boldness of their metaphors. Some of their verses will not stand the test of our criticism; but it would be unjust to judge of the merits of any language by its comparative dissimilarity with our own. We must make some allowances for the taste of others, and some concessions, if we be desirous of making progress in a foreign language.†

When we consider, that in the general dearth of literature this nation possessed authors of genius and repute; that the few books which escaped the savage hands of the Saracens might have likewise perished in the general wreck of Grecian and Roman literature; in such a case, we cannot but admit that the only knowledge which we could have acquired, must have been from Persia and Arabia, our taste would then have been formed on different materials, and we might possibly have despised the beauties we now admire.‡ We

* Sir William Jones.

† I have heard of a person who abused his Persian instructor for not comprehending a disjunctive conjunction; and of another, who left off his studies because the word Khoordun, "to eat," is used instead of the word "take," in the phrase, "to *take* the air."

‡ The laws of taste and criticism are supposed to be immutable; yet there are no two authors who do not differ frequently from each other.

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have, however, fortunately escaped this calamity. It may be further urged in favour of the Persians, that at the time when literature was secluded from the western world, when the time of our ancestors was employed in ridiculous crusades, and in mitigating the bulls which were fulminated against them, men of science and genius were patronised and rewarded by the sovereigns of Asia. When our barons and nobles were unable to sign their names, Firdousee wrote! But the sun of Eastern learning has set for ever, while the one which irradiates our Western sky shines with daily encreasing splendor.

Before we conclude our observations, it may be proper to notice the very great difference between the Persian spoken in India and in Persia. The pronunciation has frequently little or no resemblance: and the idiom varies so much, as to subject an Indian to great inconvenience, and frequent mistakes. A foreigner who speaks and pronounces English as it is written, would not make more egregious blunders. But as I am aware that this is an opinion not generally received, I trust I shall be excused giving a few instances in favour of my assertion: *No gooftumut bidikush*, "Did I not tell "you to give it him." An Indian would say, *Mun nu gooftum bu shoomu ki ora bidiked*, making use of a sentence of eight words instead of *three*.* The language of the Persians is wonderfully laconic, while that spoken in India is ridiculously verbose; in Persia it is soft and sweet, in India harsh and disagreeable. The letter *é* and broad *â* are pronounced *ee* and *oo*; and as these letters occur in almost every word, it is astonishing what a difference it makes in the harmony of a sentence.

* Khoonush Koo, Khanu-e o Kooja ust. Kee shinooftush, Koodom shooned ora. The following sentences are spoken a hundred times a day in Persia, are not proverbs, and are not intelligible to any Indian—Geerum nu Amud—Khoonu awoordeed Teghush nu mee boorud-Kooja istadeed eenra—Chura dust parchu me shuwee—Gori pidur bisozud-Akhir nu yafteed. I could multiply these instances, but I know them fully sufficient to prove my argument.

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CHAPTER II.

On Persian Compositions—Authors.

THE remarks which have been hitherto made on the Persian language, have in general referred to its beauties; we may now be allowed to particularise some of its faults, or rather the faults of Persian authors. The fame of a Persian author rests very frequently on the affectation of his style, and the absurdity of his metaphors. He writes to be *admired*, not to be understood; and the opportunity of adding another jingle to his sentence, could not be missed, though he were to set reason and sense at defiance.* In former times, every thing that was false or gaudy was called Asiatic; I see no reason, even now, to doubt the justice of the epithet. This remark more particularly applies to their prosaic works; for, surprising to say, when exuberance of imagination would be excused, their fancy appears to be rarely exerted. Their prose is therefore infinitely more difficult than their poetry. Another misfortune is, that as they have no works on taste or criticism, and enter into no controversies but on religious subjects, they are deprived of the means of remedying these abuses, or correcting the innovations which an author may think proper to make on their language.†

Their historical works are written in a very inflated style: and when we recollect that most of the historians lived in the court, and

* A Persian scholar is aware of this. I can only explain it to the English one by forming the following sentence, which resembles the style of Persian compositions. " Your declaration " excites my admiration, and constitutes my highest gratification."

† Jamee's remarks on the Musnuvee-i Shureef hardly deserve notice.

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under the protection of the prince whose actions they celebrate, we may reasonably suppose that they have frequently been induced to sacrifice the independence of history either to their gratitude or their fears. Timoor Shah took uncommon pains in composing, correcting, and revising the history of his reign; indeed it appears from Shurf ood Deen's own account, that he was little more than the transcriber of the king's sentiments. It would be unjust to attribute this unwearied diligence to the vanity of the king; and we might perhaps be taxed with credulity if we imputed it solely to his love of truth. Arab Shah frequently contradicts the royal author.

The celebrated Sadee, in his Goolistan, has seldom given way to the *Rengeeni Ibarut*, or flowery style; but to shew that he is not wholly immaculate, I shall quote the two following passages:

حکایت قاضي همدان‌را حکایت کنند که با نعلبند پسري سر خوش داشت و نعل دلش در آتش روزگاري در طابش متلهف و پویان و مترصد و جویان و بر حسب واقعه گویان

"It is related that a magistrate of Humudan fell in love with the "daughter of a farrier; the *shoe of his heart*, in courting her, was "inflamed in the fire of torture; he strove, he hoped, and searched, "and of his condition was talkative.

حکایت یاد دارم که در ایام جواني کزر داشتم بگوي و نظر بر ماه روي در تموزیکه حرارتش آب دهان بجوشانیدي و سمومش مغز استخوان از ضعف بشریت تاب آفتاب نیاوردم و الجا بسایه دیواري بردم مرقب که کسي حرتمرز از من به برف آبي فرونشاند که ناگاه از تاریکي دهلیز خانهٔ روشناي بتافت یعني جمالي دیدم که زبان فصاحت از بیان صباحت او عاجز آید چنانچه در شب تار ماه برآید با آب حیات از ظلمات بدر آید قدحي برف آب در دست و شکر در آن ریخته و به عرق آمیخته ندانم بگلابش مطیب کرده بود یا قطرهٔ چند از گل رویش در آن چکیده باري شربت از دست نکاریش گرفتم و بخوردم و عمر گزشته از سر گرفتم

"In my juvenile days, I recollect, I went to a certain street, in "the month of July, and gazed on my beloved; the heat parched

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" the mouth, and the hot wind dried up the marrow of the bone. " From the frailty of nature, I could not endure the heat of the " sun. I embraced the refuge of the shade of a wall. I trusted " that some one would mitigate this excessive heat, by giving me " some iced water; when suddenly, from the darkness of the portal " of a door, a light burst forth, namely, a beauty, whose excellen- " cies even the tongue of eloquence could not detail; she appeared " as the morn after a dark night, or as the water of life issues from " obscurity, perspiring a goblet of iced water in her hand mixed " with sugar. I did not know whether she had perfumed it with " rose water, or had thrown a few drops from her rosy countenance. " I instantly seized the liquor, and drinking it off, became re-ani- " mated."*

Sadee has acquired the epithet of moral; but as the author of the fifth chapter of the Goolistan, and the Khubeesat, or book of Impurities, as Sir William Ousely calls it, he appears to be undeserving of this appellation. His Goolistan is a book which is universally and deservedly read; but it is likewise a book which would not bear a translation into the English language: his stories are excellent and instructive, and are adapted to almost every situation and exigency of life.

It would appear, from the account which he gives of his seeing the idol at Somnat, and of his murdering the unfortunate old man, who imposed on the credulity of the Hindoos, that he had visited India; this supposition, however, is not corroborated by the accounts I have read of his life.† Sadee's history is tolerably well known. He was very pious, performed fourteen pilgrimages, and was taken prisoner by the infidels. A friend recognised him working in the ditch of Tripoli, redeemed him from slavery, and gave him

* See Johnson's remarks on a verse of Donne's, vol. i. p. 48. As the sweet, &c.

† He is yet said to have been engaged against the infidels of Hind; and he mentions in this story, that he returned into Persia by the way of Hujjaz.

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his daughter in marriage. His wife proved to be a scold, and the Sheikh was happy to rid himself of a vexatious burthen.

Some of the stories in the Goolistan and Boostan prove him not only to have been very credulous, but also very willing to impose on others. His account of a man crossing a broad river on a holy carpet, and which he declares he saw, is a strong instance of the latter.

The Unwari Sohelee is a work much read in Persia, and is considered to be one of the best productions in that language. As it is not my intention to enter into a minute examination of the merits or faults of Persian authors, I shall content myself by observing, that the most admired historical works are the Rozut oos Sufa, by Meer Khoond, and the Hubeeb oos Syr, by his nephew; the Shah Ubas Namu, and the life of Nadir Shah, by Mirza Mihdee.

The Tareekhi Tibree, or the Chronicles of Tibree, are infinitely superior, in my opinion, to most of the works of Persian writers; they were written in Arabic, and were unfortunately lost. The style of the translation is simple and unaffected, and by no means adapted to the vitiated and corrupt taste of the present age. The author neither aims at puns, nor aspires at forced images; he delivers his accounts in an equal flow of language, and if he never soars, he never falls. He is probably too minute; but if an equal number of words be taken from the Tareekhi Tibree, they will be found to have more meaning than double that number of almost every other writer.

The style of the most admired Persian authors is verbose and turgid; the mind is filled with words and epithets, and you probably meet with several quibbles and monstrous images before you arrive at one fact. I shall give one instance, from an immense number, of the forced images of Persian historians; it would be disgusting to the reader to produce others.

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چون زمام توسن امور در دست رایض قضاست پشت دست یکه تازاسمان در پیشش
ازپنجه آفتاب پشت دست بر زمین گذاشته بردهان اسپ ملک خوتعه جلو بدستش نیامد

" As the reins of the horse of every persons affairs are in the hand " of the *ruler* of fate (horse-breaker), the back of his hand (Nadirs), " before which the warrior of the heavens (*i. e.* the heavens), having " the sun in its right hand, would have crouched, struck the mouth " of the king's horse, and the bridle did not come into his hand."*

The Persians do not make a study of history, consequently their histories abound with idle tales and extravagant fables. The Shah Namu is considered one of their best and most authentic histories.

Of their biographical works I can say but little; the only two I ever heard of, are the Tuzkeeru oos Shoora, or Lives of the Poets, by Doulut Shah, and the Atush Kudu, a very late production on the same subject. They contain little else than that such a poet lived and died at such a period, with a few extracts of their most admired poems.

In whatever light we may view the prose compositions of the Persians, we cannot but allow, that if every nation has bad, almost every nation has some few good authors; and however prejudiced we may be in favour of the Persian language, justice compels us to admit that the number is comparatively very inconsiderable.

* Sir William Jones translates this passage very differently: Ce complot auroit executé au milieu de l'hypodrome de Meched, " si le destin qui tient en ses mains les rênes du coursier des " événemens, ne s'y fut opposé: en effet lorsque Nadir alloit donner le signal dont on étoit " convenu les rayons du soleil qui dardoient sur lui l'éblouirent au point qu'il manqua la bride " du cheval de Melek." Vol. v. p. 32.

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CHAPTER III.

Persian Poetry.

THE Persians are accused of being basely servile, and this slavish spirit is said to breathe through all their compositions. I shall not attempt to exculpate them entirely from this charge, but I may be allowed to remark, that their panegyrics do not often exceed the courtly flattery of many European authors.* It must be confessed

* The flattery of Horace is often courtly and delicate, but is as servile as the panegyrics of the Persians:

Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare; presens divus habebitur
Augustus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio, gravibusque Persis: Lib. iii. 5.

Te Cantaber non ante domabilis,
Medusque, et Indus, te profugus Scythes
Miratur, o tutela præsens
Italiæ, dominæque Romæ:
Te fontium qui celat origines
Nilusque et Ister, te rapidus Tygris,
Te belluosus qui remotis
Obstrepit oceanus Britannis,
Te non, &c. &c. &c. Lib. iv. 14.

Virgil goes farther, and ascribes virtues to him which he was known not to possess:

Hujus in adventum jam nunc et Caspia regna
Responsis horrent divom, et Mœtia tellus,
Et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili,
Nec vero Alcides, tantum telluris obivit, &c. Æneid. vi.

Ovid reminds Augustus of the praises he had bestowed upon him:

Quid referam libros, illos quoque, crimine nostra
Mille locis plenos nominis esse tui?
Inspice majus opus, quod adhuc sine fine reliqui

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that they do not shew the same discernment as the Western poets; they lavish their praises with an unsparing hand, without giving themselves the trouble to remember whether their epithets are justly

In non credendos corpora versa nodos;
Invenies vistii præconia nominis illic
Invenies animi pignora multa mei. Tristium Lib. ii.

But it would be impossible to find in the Persian language more outrageous compliments than those of Statius:

Tuque, o Latiæ decus, addite famæ
Quem nova maturi subeuntem exorsa parentis
Æternum sibi Roma cupit: licet arctios omnes
Limes agat stellas, et te plaga lucida cœli
Pleïadum, Boreæque, et hiulci fulminis expers
Sollicitet; licet ignipedum frænator equorum
Ipse tuis alte radiantem crinibus arcum
Imprimat, aut magni cedat tibi Jupiter æqua
Parte poli; maneas hominum contentus habenis
Undarum terræque potens, et sidera dones. Lib. 1.

Shakspeare gave a memorable example of his muse deigning to stoop to flattery; and no one will accuse him of being a servile writer. He ascribes a virtue to Elizabeth which was often denied her, and was, at best, but equivocal; and then, upon the accession of James, adds a few more lines to celebrate the glory of the reigning monarch.

Let me speak, Sir,
(For Heaven now bids me), and the words I utter
Let none think flattery, for they'll find them truth.
This royal infant (Heaven still move about her!)
Tho' in the cradle, yet now promises
Upon this land a thousand thousand blessings,
Which time shall bring to ripeness. She shall be
A pattern to all living princes with her,
And all that shall succeed. Sheba was never
So covetous of wisdom and fair virtue
Than this blest soul shall be. All princely graces
That mould up such a mighty piece as this,
With all the virtues that attend the good,
Shall still be doubled on her. Truth shall nurse her;
Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her:
She shall be loved and feared: Her own shall bless her;
Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
And hang their heads with sorrow: Good grows with her.
In her days every man shall eat in safety,
Under his own vine, what he plants, and sing
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours.

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applied. They would, probably, feel no hesitation in commemorating the conquest of countries which had not been entered (a species of flattery sanctioned by the Romans), and extolling the bravery of the most abject coward. But we must remember that these verses are merely panegyrical; it may be the fate of the poet to have a bad subject, but he still must finish his poem. Both Sadee and Hafiz have commemorated the virtues of their sovereigns, but they have by no means "outstepped the modesty of nature." Nor will

God shall be truly known; and those about her,
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,
And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.
[Nor shall this peace sleep with her; but, as when
The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phœnix,
Her ashes new create another heir,
As great in admiration as herself;
So shall she leave her blessedness to one
(When Heaven shall call her to the cloud of darkness,)
Who, from the sacred ashes or her honour,
Shall, star-like, rise as great in fame as she was,
And so stand fixed. Peace, plenty, love, truth, terror,
That were the servants to this chosen infant,
Shall then be his, and, like a vine, grow to him:
Wherever the bright sun of Heaven shall shine,
His honour, and the greatness of his name
Shall be, and make new nations. He shall flourish;
And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches
To all the plains about him; our children's children
Shall see this, and bless Heaven.]*
She shall be, to the happiness of England,
An aged princess; many days shall see her,
And yet no day without a day to crown it.
Would I had known no more! But she must die!
She must! the saints must have her yet a virgin;
A most unspotted lily shall she pass
To th' ground, and all the world shall mourn her. Henry VIII.

It would be useless to dwell upon the panegyrics of Dryden, and of many other poets, poet-laureats, &c.

* The lines between the crotchets are supposed to have been added.

Malone's Shakspeare, vol. i. p. 358.

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the praises of Sadee or Hafiz be found to be more fervent than the eulogies of Virgil or of Horace.

We have become familiar with the deification of the Roman emperors; but would not the incense which was offered up at the shrine of a mortal deity, appear, even to a Persian, the height of human adulation? The Persians, I very readily acknowledge, have a string of epithets which they indiscriminately apply as their necessities may require; but it is in their prose compositions where they indulge themselves in this unlimited license. The literature of any nation is a subject too vast to be executed with any degree of minuteness in a work of this nature; nor do I feel the smallest hesitation in avowing myself unequal to the task. I refer the learned reader to Sir William Jones's Commentarii, the only work which gives any notion of the language and the literature of the Persians. The works of Sir William Jones have been a precious mine to many authors who have written upon the language or the poetry of the Persians, and who have borrowed largely from him without deigning to avow their obligations to this wonderful man.* It has been the fashion, of late, to doubt the authority of this writer; but, certainly, without the smallest foundation. In the comprehensive range which he took of every branch of Eastern literature and science, it was utterly impossible for him to have avoided trivial mistakes; but are the persevering efforts of his genius to be overlooked because they are accompanied with a few trifling errors? The degree of credit which the Persian language possesses in Europe, may be almost solely ascribed to Sir William Jones; and it will hardly be denied that the works of this accomplished scholar surpass the collected labours of all his successors. I have been

* Mr. Nott, I believe, avows his obligation to Sir William Jones for his translation of the Persian sonnet "Ugur an Turki Sheerazee;" but says, that as his translation did not express the measure of the Persian, he had been induced to give a new version of it. It is rather unfortunate for this observation of Mr. Nott's, that Sir William Jones's translation exactly expresses the measure of the Persian ghuzl, which was doubtless the reason that induced him to prefer so uncommon a measure.

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induced to say thus much in favour of an authority which I have in one or two instances dissented from, because I would not incur the reproach of having made an impotent effort to obscure the fame of our *only* Eastern luminary. The review which I shall take of Persian poetry will be as brief as possible; and I shall carefully avoid noticing such passages as have been presented to the public under a variety of shapes. When I err, it will be from ignorance, not from design.

THE SHAH NAMU.

The most stupenduous monument of Eastern literature, is the Shah Namu of the poet Ferdousee; a work consisting of sixty thousand couplets, which has probably been praised as much for its length, as for its intrinsic merit. This poem was composed under the patronage of Mahmood, Sultan of Ghizni, who, excepting his conduct towards this poet, appears to have been particularly liberal in his treatment of learned men. Firdousee was happily born at a period when learning and talents were universally encouraged; nor did he fail to meet with protection and assistance, when he was persecuted by the enmity of his offended sovereign. I shall not repeat Firdousee's well known story; nor should I have ventured these remarks if Sir William Jones had executed the design which he proposed in his learned Commentarii.* The world may, on two accounts, regret its disappointment; at being deprived of the work of so distinguished a scholar, and at its having allowed of the following observations. I do not profess giving a full account of the Shah Namu; a poem consisting of sixty thousand couplets would require a separate work, and, perhaps, more time than the generality of my readers are willing to bestow.

* Sed de hoc poemate (Shah Namu), separatim atque alio volumine si tempus atque otium supetit, copiosè disseram; ac fortasse etiam totum opus in lucem proferam.

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The celebrated poem of Firdousee has survived, in a country by no means distinguished for its regard for works of genius, a period of not less than eight hundred years. The patron of Firdousee is known for his cruelty,* and is immortalized for his infamy ;† but this splendid monument of human genius and *invention*, rests upon a more certain basis. Kings have succeeded kings, and dynasties have followed dynasties;‡ the works of imperial grandeur have fallen before the ravages of time, but Firdousee lives fresh in the remembrance of the East, and, instead of suffering by a lapse of time, his fame rests upon a more solid and durable foundation. He rules by a prescriptive right. His work has become a model for imitation; and although his successors have partly changed his language, they have not dispensed with the assistance of his images and fables. The poets of the East have been unanimous in their opinion of this poem, and have come forward in a manner which does honour to their candour, and credit to their judgment.§ But when we allow it is unequalled in the East, we must pause before we pronounce it to be equal, or to approach *very nearly* the divinest

* Dow's History, vol. i.

† Jamee says of him:

Mahmood is dead, his splendor beams no more;
Lost in oblivion's solitary shore.
Disgrace alone attends upon his name,
Blind to Firdousee's merit and his fame. Champion.

‡ It may be curious to trace these changes:—In Persia the Seljuks rose upon the ruins of the Subactigi; then the Turks in Kharizm, and the Atabegs in Persia; the Turks under Hulaku Khan, the Monguls, the Soofees; the Turks and Afgans; Nadir Shah, the Zunds, and at present the Qajjars. In India the government has passed from Hindoos to Mooslims, from Mooslims to Hindoos, and from Hindoos to Christians.

§ One of the Persian poets has these lines:

No bard ere found in nature's richest mines,
Th' inspiring ardour of Firdousee's lines;
If other poets in mellifluent strains,
Have sung of heroes, or of verdant plains,
Not with such equal beauty have they strung
Our orient pearl, or with his genius sung. Champion.

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poem of the west.* So bold a comparison should be offered at least with caution; and I must confess that I would sooner be esteemed the Zoilus of Firdousee, than the Zoilus either of Virgil, or Milton.

The Shah Namu is called (improperly, I think)† an epic poem, and by Sir William Jones a series of epic poems. It is of little consequence, perhaps, what title a poem receives; those, however, who are only acquainted with it by name, will naturally imagine that it resembles or equals the epic poems of the Western world.

The whole of the poem takes up a period of not less than 3,700 years; and although critics have not determined the time of the epic action, they would not yield their assent to so enormous a number of years. The part which Sir William Jones assumes, and which he says is *truly epic*, occupies a period of three centuries. If Bossu's definition of the epic poem be just,‡ I have little hesitation in declaring, that the Shah Namu is entirely excluded from ranking with Homer or Virgil, although it resembles Lucan's Pharsalia, by being an historical poem. The Shah Namu may be fairly defined, "an historical poem heightened by fable." I cannot discover that the poet wishes to inculcate any moral maxim, or that he has any other view than of embellishing the facts which have been handed down to him by tradition, and in the legends of the Gubrs. The stories in the Shah Namu are intricate and perplexed, and as they have a relation to each other, they can only be understood by a knowledge of the whole. Episodes are interwoven in episodes; peace and war succeed each other, and centuries pass

* Nobilissimum interea, et longissimum (voluminis enim per magni prope dimidiam partem constituit), est *sine ulla dubitatione verè epicum*, et profectò nullum est ab Europœis scriptum poema, *quod ad Homeri dignitatem et quasi cœlestem ardorem propius accedat*.

Sir William Jones, vol. ii. p. 502.

† I am obliged to dissent from an authority which I must always respect.

‡ "The epic poem is a discourse, invented by art, to form the manners by such instructions as are disguised under allegories of some one important action which is related in verse, after a probable, diverting, and surprising manner."

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away without making any alteration in the conduct of the poem. The same prince continues to resist the Persian arms, the same hero leads them to glory; and the subterfuge of supposing two Afrasiabs, or two Roostums, betrays, at least, the intricacy and confusion of the whole fable. The character of Nestor answered the most important ends; his eloquence and experience had a wonderful effect in soothing the contentions of a divided council; but the age of Zal or of Roostum answers no purpose, for they only share longevity in common with their fellow creatures.

It is, perhaps, uncandid to try the merits of the Shah Namu by the standard of Homer or of Virgil; but do not let it then aspire to a standard which it will not admit. Let the enthusiastic admirers of the Shah Namu determine a standard of their own, but as long as it is called an epic poem, it must be tried by the rules which have been assented to by successive ages.

The ground work of this poem is a history of Persia, which occupies a period of 3700 years, and upon which is raised a stupenduous monument of fable and romance. The authority for this history is said to be some legends of the ancient Persians, which, as we learn from Firdousee, were undertaken to be turned into verse by Munsoor Duqeeqee.* How much he executed of this task I am unable to determine; nor can I discover whether Firdousee availed himself of the labours of his predecessor. Upon his death, Firdousee undertook this laborious work, and has performed it in a manner which must delight and astonish every lover of Eastern literature. After Firdousee had made a considerable progress in his work, he fell ill, and apprehending that it would be

* یکایک از و بخت برگشته شد بدست یکي بنده برکشته شد
برفت او داین نامه ناگفته ماند چنان بخت بیدار او خفته ماند

"On a sudden his (Munsoor Duqeeqee's) fortune lowered; he was killed by a slave. He "departed, and left this work unaccomplished; his performances remained unnoticed."

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left imperfect, he entreated his master, the celebrated poet Asidi, to assist him, and who composed four thousand verses, which have been grafted on this poem.* This is all the assistance we know him to have received; and as there is no prior claim to the machinery of this poem, he cannot be denied the merit of invention. We cannot but regret that he has made so little use of it; for although a fabulous bird presided over the birth of Roostum, and reared up his father Zal, his aid is only resorted to upon the most desperate cases, and when all other means had failed to command success. He strictly observes Horace's rule, "nec Deus intersit," &c. which applies, however, to tragedy, and not to epic poetry. Excepting in one or two instances, his storms are the effects of natural causes; the demons of Mazenderan fight with human arms, and either scorn, or fail to resort to the powerful aid of magic or incantation. Whether this be a beauty or blemish, I shall not determine; it is at least contrary to the practice of the most admired authors of antiquity. The demons of Mazenderan appear to have been infinitely more cultivated than their neighbours the Persians. They were acquainted with letters, and imparted their knowledge to Tumoorus, the son of Hoshung.†. This is doubtless a fable, as well as the story of a navigation being carried on with foreign states in the time of Jumshyd.‡ This strange assertion is in direct contradiction to the established principle of the Magian religion, and betrays an uncommon ignorance of the customs of the ancient Persians.§

* Dow's History, vol. i. p. 87, 88.

† نوشتن به خسرو درآموختند دلش‌را به دانش برافروختند
نوشته يكي ني كه نزديكسي چه رومي و تازي و چه پارسي

"They taught the king to write, and enlightened his mind with science. They did not teach "him the letters of one language, but of three, Greece, Arabia, and Persia."

‡ گذركرد ازان پس بكشتي بر اب زكشور بكشور بر آمد شتاب

"After this, boats were launched upon the ocean, and went quickly from one country to "another."

§ Hyde Relig. Vet. Pers. Yet this was a rule which was sometimes broken.

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The poetical part of the Shah Namu can hardly be said to commence before the period of the usurper Zohak, who overthrows Jumshyd's government, and puts him to death. His enormities, at length, become so excessive, as to excite his subjects to throw off his authority, and to espouse the cause of a blacksmith, whose two sons were murdered by the orders of the tyrant. Gawu raises his leather apron as a standard of rebellion, and which afterwards became the consecrated banner of the Persian empire. A descendant of the ancient family of Persia is discovered in the person of Feridoon, who succeeds to the throne of his ancestors. The education of Feridoon may be supposed to have been remarkable. He was brought up by the cow Poor Mahee, and miraculously escaped the diligent search of the usurper Zohak. The whole of this story is related with a considerable degree of poetical spirit; but as I have reserved my remarks for a future period, I must pass over this in silence.*

Feridoon divides his empire between his three sons, which gives rise to the celebrated feuds which afterwards prevailed between the Persian and Tooran governments. Eeruj, the youngest son, receives the whole of Iran, or Persia, as his portion; and this preference is beheld with envy and indignation by the two brothers. Soolm and Toor resolve upon attacking their brother. Eeruj endeavours to mollify their anger, and falls the victim of his own moderation. The lamentations of the unfortunate old king are extremely affecting, and forcibly describe the anguish and disappointment of a fond and partial parent:

بیاراي از بهر او تخت عاج — بنه برسرش بر دل افروز تاج
فرستاده را بخواند انزمان — بدان برد نزد شاه جهان
بدان تا به بیند جهاندار شاه — که بروي چه آید زتخت و کلاه
برفتند بازان دو بیداد شوم — یکي سوي چین و یکي سوي روم

* This part of the Shah Namu has been translated by Mr. Champion, whose performance, if not poetical, is assuredly superior to a bald translation.

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فریدون نهاده دو دیده براه
سپاه و کهان ارزوسند شاه

چو هنگام برکشتن شاه بود
پدر خود ازین‌ها کي آگاه بود

همه شاه از تخت فیروزه ساخت
همان تاج‌را گوهر اندر نشاخت

پذیره شدن را بیاراسته
مي ورود و رامشگران خواسته

بتیره به‌بردند و پیل از درش
به بستند آین همه کشورش

بزین اندرون بود شاه وسپاه
یکي گرد تیره بر آمد ز راه

هیوني برون آمد از تیره گرد
نشسته بر و سوکواري به درد

خروشي بزار ودل سوکوار
یکي زر تابوتش اندر کنار

به تابوت زر اندرون پرنیان
نهاده سر ایرج اندر میان

ابا ناله و آه و با روي زرد
به‌پیش فریدون شد ان شوخ مرد

ز تابوت زر پرده برداشتند
که گفتار او خیره پنداشتند

یکي سنگدل پرنیان برکشید
بریده سر ایرج آمد پدید

بیفتاد پس افریدون بخاک
سیه سر بسر جامه کردند چاک

سیه شد رخان دیدگان شد سپید
که دیدن دگرگونه بودش امید

چو خسرو برین کوز آمد ز راه
چنین بازگشت از پذیره سپاه

دریده درفش و نگون کرده کوس
رخ نام‌داران برنگ ابنوس

بتیره سیه کرده و روي پیل
پراگنده بر تازي اسپانش نیل

پیاده سپهبد پیاده سیاه
پر از خاک برسر گرفتند راه

خروشیدن پهلوانان به درد
کنان موي و بازو بر ان زاد مرد

برین گونه گردد بما بر سپهر
نخواهد ربودن چو بنمود چهر

مبر خود به مهر زمانه گمان
نه نیکو بود راستي درگمان

چو دشمنش گیري نمایدت مهر
وگر دوست گیري به پیش چهر

یکي پند گویم ترا من درست
دل از مهر گیتي ببایدت شست

سیه داغ دل شو با هاي وهوي
سوي باغ ایرج نهادند روي

بروزي کجا جشن شاهان بدي
ورا بیشتر جشنگاه ان بدي

فریدون سر شاه پور جوان
بیامد به بر برگرفته توان

بران تخت شا بنشهي بنگرید
سر شاه‌را نزد تاج آورید

سر حوض شاهان و سرو سهي
درخت گلستان و بید بهي

تهي دید زازادگان جشن شاه
بکیوان بر آورده گرد سیاه

همي سوخت داغ و همي خست روي
همي ریخت اشک و همي کند موي

میان را بزنار خونین به بست
فگند آتش اندر سراي نشست

گلسعانش برکند و سروانش سوخت
به یکبارکي چشم شادي بدوخت

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نهاده سر ایرج اندرکنار — سرخویش کرده سوي کارزار
همي گفت اي داوردادگر — ببین بي گنه کشته اندرنگر
به خنجر سرش خسته از پیش من — تنش خورده شیران ان انجمن
دل هرد، بیداد زانسان بسوز — که هرگز نه بیند جز تیره روز
ز داغ جگرشان کني آزده — که بخشایش آرد به ایشان رده
همی خواهم از تو من اي کردگار — که چندان امان یابم از روزگار
که از تخم ایرج یکي نامور — به بینم برین کین به بسته کمر
چو بینم چنان زلن سپس شایدم — کجا خاک بالا به پیمایدم
بگفت این وبکریست چندان بزار — همي تا کیا رستش اندرکنار

To Tooran, Toor, to Greece, now Soolm goes,
Unaw'd they triumph in a parent's woes.
With fond anxiety the god-like king,
And the whole army chide the tardy wing
Of time; when near approached the hour,
(For who could fathom fate's imperious power),
A gorgeous throne, with jewels studded o'er,
And all the treasures of the orient shore,
The king prepares. He quits the chair of state,
And hastes, vain hope! to meet his son elate.
The richest wines Irania's vintage yields,
And the gay minstrels charm the martial fields;
On elephants the drum and tabor play,
And splendid arches, such as grace the day
Of Persian triumph, all prepar'd to go,
When from afar, with solemn dirge and slow,
Midst clouds of dust, a man of sorrow rose,
His face the picture of corroding woes!
Deep were his sighs; a golden urn he bore
(With silk the head of Eritch cover'd o'er!)
By sorrow worn his livid face appears,
And all his cheeks were dew'd with purple tears.

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To Feridoon he came, the urn of gold
He groaning opens, dreadful to behold!
From his pale visage, and his faultering tongue,
The monarch feared some awful horror hung.
The silk around the head a servant tears,
The head of Eritch pale and wan appears.
From his high steed the fainting monarch falls,
And the whole sorrowing train on Eritch calls.*
Sunk were his eyes, his face of livid hue;
Far different scenes his happier fancy drew!
Now they return; pale anguish led the way,
Torn were the colours, and the minstrel's lay
Was silent now. The universal grief
With ebony had mark'd each warrior's cheek.
No more the drum or flutes enlivening sound,
Teaches the warrior or his steed to bound.
They all dismount, each soldier weeps aloud;
As when all heaven, by some tempestuous cloud,
Is darken'd o'er. Their sorrowing breasts they tear,
All call on Eritch with a wild despair.
The stars, they cry, who mark'd thy fatal end,
Will change their course, and to thy murderers bend.
One truth attend, let not the meteor blaze
On this vain world, delude with dazzling rays;
'Tis vain, 'tis idle, a delusive dream!
Nor fancy fortune is as she may seem.
Should foes acknowledged strive to wound your breast,
Harbour no vengeance, and relieve distrest;
But if a friend assures of high esteem,
Watch all his actions, varying with his theme.

* ——————— Et multo clamore sequuntur
Euryali et Nisi.

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Sore griev'd each warrior, and with anguish tore,
" Loudly lamenting on the sounding shore."
The king to Eritch's garden bends his way,
Once the gay scene, resplendent as the day!
Where Eritch's hours in pleas'd amusement flow'd,
Where social pleasure innocently glow'd:
His father, tott'ring with a weight of grief,
Bears the pale head of the love-murder'd chief.
To the high throne he casts his swollen eyes,
No Eritch there, once favor'd by the skies!
O'er all the garden lucid fountains play'd,
And choicest trees spread round their verdant shade.
Here gay pavilions, and here cool retreats,
Once pleas'd its lord. The mournful father goes
To where the edifice of Eritch rose,
And in his hand the pallid head he bore;
Grief sunk his soul, and all his bosom tore.
His loud laments and agonizing cries
Resound to Saturn, to the farthest skies;
He fires the garden, tears his aged hair,
Rends his wan cheek, sad picture of despair;
Large drops of blood ran streaming down his eyes,
He dips his belt in sanguinary dyes:
On the lone earth he sat, and all around
The flames arise, and scorch the smoking ground.
Hope fled for ever; oft the head he views,
And oft to God his pious prayer renews.
Ah God! divine Director! Power august!
View this pale head, now mouldering into dust,
Murder'd without a cause, while tygers wild*
Howl o'er the body of my darling child.

* Heu terra incognita canibus data præda Latinis
Alitibusque jaces!

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Oh may these impious feel the woes I know!
May all their days in anguish'd sorrow flow!
Let their whole frame be pierc'd by venom'd darts!
Let the voracious reptile tear their hearts!
Oh grant my prayer! Oh let from Eritch spring
A vengeful hero—who, with martial wing,
Will headlong hurl them to the gates of hell,
Revenge his sire, these murd'ring fiends expel!
Him let me view triumphant, wise, and brave,
Then sink with pleasure in the lonely grave.
'Twas thus he spoke, still groaning as he lay,
No higher sorrows nature could display.

Champion's Shah Namu.

Feridoon marries the daughter of Eritch to one of Jumshyd's descendants, and Munokchere is the offspring of this marriage. He is educated with infinite pains; and, upon his arrival at manhood, is placed at the head of the army, for the purpose of revenging his grandfather's murder. He entirely defeats the armies of Tooran and China, and slays, with his own hand, both Soolm and Toor. Feridoon now becomes sensible of the danger of prosecuting revenge, abdicates the throne in favour of Munokhchere, and, after a reign of five hundred years, dies.

Munokhchere commences his reign with much applause. The poet now introduces the story of the birth of Zal, the father of Roostum. This beautiful episode stands unrivalled among the compositions of the Persian poets, and is certainly one of the most admirable parts of the Shah Namu.

Sam, the father of Zal, had been long anxious for the birth of a son; and his hopes are at length gratified. But his joy is soon converted into sorrow and indignation; for, as his son was born with white hair, he conceives him to be spurious. He resolves on making

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away with his innocent offspring. The child is exposed upon Mount Elboorz, the Olympus or Ida of the Persians, where he is fostered by a Seemoorgh, a fabulous bird of antiquity. The existence of Zal is revealed to his father in a dream, who regrets his cruelty, and sets out in the hope of discovering him. The Seemorgh delivers over her charge to the rejoiced father, who endeavours to obliterate from the mind of Zal a sense of his former cruelty.

Zal is appointed to the government of Cabool and Zabool, where he continues while his father carries his arms into Gurgsaran. Zal meets the king of Cabool, who invites him to his royal residence; but which he is obliged to refuse, on account of Mihrab's being related to the house of Zohak. The king returns to Cabool; and the description he gives of Zal's person captivates the heart of his daughter Roodavu,

The description of Zal's person is laboured with infinite pains; and as the fairest possible manner of drawing a comparison between Asiatic and European writers is by comparing their descriptions upon the *same subject*, I shall adopt this rule in some few instances; it will mark the difference of Asiatic and European notions, the extent and justness of their imagination.*

Mihrab, in reply to the enquiries of Seendokht, gives the following account of Zal's person:

چنین داد پاسخ مهراب بدوي — که اي سرو سیمین برد خوب روي
به کیتي دراز پهلوانان کرد — پي زال را کس نیاید سپرد
چو دست و عنانش به ایوان نگار — به بینید بر زیر چین یک سوار
دل شیر نر دارد و زور پیل — دوستش بکردار دریاي نیل
چو برگاه باشد زر افشان بود — چو در جنگ باشد سرافشان بود
رخش سرخ مانندهٔ ارغوان — جوان سال و بیدار و دولت جوان

* One or two instances are not sufficient; they might be greatly enlarged were this the proper place. Compare the description of Orpheus with that of Mujnoon; the Caledonian boar with the Goorgs of Firdousee.

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بگین اندرون چون نهنگ بلاست — بزین اندرون تیز چنگ اژدهاست
نشانده خاک و رگین به خون — فشانده خنجر آب گون
از اهو همان کش سفید است موي — بگوید سخن مردم عیب جوي
سفیدي مویش نیزیبد همي — توگوئي که دلها فریبد همي

Mihrab replies, he like the cypress rears
His head on high, and like a god appears;
No warrior equals his immortal beams,
His amber crown, his scientific themes.
When his fierce courser furious paws the ground,
No mortal rides him with such active bound;
His lion soul, his elephantine frame,
Resistless in the battle, seize on fame:
Not with more violence the Nile o'erflows,
And levels all that dare its course oppose.
His ruddy cheeks hang on the wing of youth,
Great is his wealth, magnanimous his truth.
When, like a dragon, in the bloody field,
He dares the fray, the boldest warriors yield,
White is his hair, which some a fault esteem;
Tho' long, tho' flowing, beauteous tho' they seem.

Champion.

Shakspeare or Milton's description may be put in comparison with that of Firdousee:

See what a grace was seated on his brow,
Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove himself;
An eye like Mars, to threaten or command;
A station like the herald Mercury,
New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;
A combination and a form indeed,
Where every God did seem to set his seal
To give the world assurance of a man. Hamlet.

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His fair large front, and eye sublime, declared
Absolute rule; and hyacinthin locks *
Round from his parted forelock hung
Clustering, but not beneath his shoulder broad. Milton.

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* This is a common comparison with the Persians:

طرهٔ اش سنبلیست پر یحان جان دهندهٔ نکاه مد هوشان

"Her locks in ringlets like the hyacinth, giving fresh life to the wounded."

چوسنبل طرهٔ اش درهم شکسته بچشمهٔ آبحیوان نقش بسته

"Her tresses, like the hyacinth, falling in curls, and concealing her lovely face."

καδ' δὶ κάρηϊος
Οὔλας ἦκα κόμας ὑακινθίῳ ἀνθι ὁμοίας. Oddissea, b. 230.

The picture of Yoosoof, the Adonis of Persia, is finished, perhaps, with more pains, but with less success, than the description of Zal:

همایون پکیري ازعالم نور بباغ خلد کردهٔ غارت حور
ربودهٔ سربسرحسن وجمالش گرفته یک بیک غنج ودلالش
کشیدهٔ قامتش چون تازهٔ شمشاد به آزادي غلامش سروآزاد
زبر آویخته زلف چو زنجیر خردرا بسته دست و پاي تدبیر
فرو زان لمعهٔ نور از جبینش مه وخورشیدرا رو بر زمینش
مقوس ابروش محراب پاکان معنبرسایبان برخوابناگان
رخش ماهي زاوج برج فردوس ز ابرو کردهٔ ان مه خانه درقوس
مکحل نرگسش از سرمه ناز زمژگان برجگرها ناوک انداز
دولعلش ازتبسم درشکرریز دهانش درتکلم شکرآمیز
بریق درش ازلعل درافشان چو از گلگون شفق برق درخشان
بخندهٔ از ثریا نورمي ریخت نمک از پسته پر شورمي ریخت
دقن چون سیب از غبغب مطوق زسیب آویخته آبي معلق
به گل خال رخش از مشک داغي گرفته اشیان زاغي به باغي
زسیمین ساعد وبازو توانگر ز بي سیمین میان چون موي لاغر

"A beauteous youth, who eclipses the charms and graces of the Hoories of Paradise.
"His form polished as the box-tree, erect as the cypress; his locks falling in ringlets, sealing "the mouth of wisdom, and arresting the feet of discretion.
"His forehead shining with immortal beams, surpassing both the sun and moon.

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The description of Zal's person immediately inflames the soft bosom of Roodavu:

چو بشنید رودابه این گفت و گوي — برافروخت گلنار گون کرد روي
دلش گشت پر اتش از مهر زال — از و دور شد رامش و خود و بال
چو بگرفت جاي خود آرزوي — دگرگونه تر شد به آیین و خوي

Fired with the picture, o'er Roodavu's face,
The depening blushes heighten every grace;
With eager passion all her bosom glows,
Love chases far her balmy soft repose;
The mad'ning fires urge on the panting maid,
And various thoughts her yielding mind invade.

Roodavu reveals her love to her attendants in the most impassioned language, and with a fervency which equals Eloisa's letter to the unfortunate Abelard:

بدانید و هر بیخ آگه بوید — همه سال با بخت همره بوید
که من یاخودم همچو بحر دمان — ازو بر شده موج بر آسمان
پر از مهر زال است روشن دلم — بخواب اندر اندیشه زد بکلم

" His eye-brows arched, and his eye-lashes shading his sleepy eyes."*

" His eyes beaming mildness, the eye-lashes darting arrows.

" His lips smiling and shedding sweets, his words " dropping honey."

" His pearly teeth, between his ruby lips, like the lightning playing upon a western sky.†

" Laughing he eclipses the Pleïads, smiles and jests dance upon his lips.

" Pearly drops hang upon his double chin; upon his rosy countenance a mole, as the dark " crow in the midst of a garden.

" His arms like silver, and well proportioned (*rich*); but the waist, for want of silver, slender, " (*poor.*)"‡

* Lely on animated canvas stole
The sleepy eye, that spoke the melting soul.
Pope's Imit. Horace, vol. iv. p. 170. See the note of the annotator, Dr. Warton.
Ἡμερίοις λυσσῶσα κόραις μαλακοῖ' ὑπ' ὄσσε.

† I have not given a faithful translation of these verses, a faithful version would be unintelligible to an English reader. The Mohuwee Room has established that there are three sorts of lightning, dark, yellow, and white; the latter is alluded to in this verse, and the lips are compared to the sky at sun-set.

‡ I have interpreted these two couplets literally as a specimen of Persian conceits. Solomon's Song, either in a simple or mystic sense, is full of similar metaphors, some of which have been esteemed inimitably beautiful. Jamee's similies are extremely perplexed, and, when discovered, by no means reward the labour you are obliged to bestow upon them.

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همه خانه شرم بر بهر او ست — شب و روز اندیشه چهر او ست
ندانم کسي‌را که من جز شما — که مهربانید و هم پارسا
کنون این سخن را چه درمان کنید — چو خواهید با من پیمان کنید
یکي چاره باید همي ساختن — دل وجانم از رنج پرداختن

To you to whom my guardian care has shone,
I speak the secret of my heart alone;
Hear, and be cautious—love inflames my soul,
Fierce as the winds my rapid passions roll.
Zal reigns triumphant; if I close my eyes
The soft illusions of his image rise;
Sleep flies my couch. Say then what blest relief
(To you alone 'tis known) can cure my grief.

Her attendants are shocked at this account of her love, and attempt to persuade her to stifle her passion. She interrupts them, and indignantly replies:

برایشان یکي بانگ برزد بخشم — به‌تابید روي و به‌خوابید چشم
وزان پس بچشم وبروي دژم — به ابرو زخشم اندر آورد خم
چنین گفت کاي کار پیکار ما — شنیدن نیرزید گفتار ما
دل من چو شد برستاره سیاه — چگونه توان شاد بودن بماه
به گل شکر و انکه او گل خوراست — اگرچه گل از گل ستوده‌تر است
کرا هر که دارو بود در جگر — شود درد او زانکبین بیشتر
نه قیصر نخواهم نه فغفور چین — نه از نامداران ایران زمین
به بالاي من پورسام است زال — از و بازوي شیر و با کتف و یال
گرش پیرخواني همي یا جوان — مرا او بجاي تن است و روان
جز او هرگز اندر دل من مباد — از و حز بر من میارید یاد
مرا مهر او دل به دیده گزید — نه آن دوستي از شنیده گزید
بر و مهربانم نه برروي وموي — به سوي خرد گشتمش مهرجوي

Are these thy counsels? Slaves in early bloom,
Wretched to breathe, the flames of love consume.

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Those who on clay can make their rich repast,
Regardless view, torn by the stormy blast,
The shattered flower. I grant that blushing shame
Should awe the maid, and lead her on to fame;
But love in triumph bears the conquer'd soul,
And the whole world's submiss to his controul.*
Should mighty Cæsar, or should Fahfoor bring
The world's great empire, or Irania's king
Bribe with his sceptre as the farthest west,
The son of Sam alone can charm my breast:†
How unavailing do your censures flow,
Zal is my soul, for him my wishes glow;
His image fills, his praises charm my mind,
The favour'd object of all human kind.
Speak not of Foor, of Cæsar, or the west,
Inthron'd is Zal for ever in my breast!
'Tis not his person, his external form,
Can charm the mind and all the senses warm;
'Tis excellence, 'tis wisdom, love of fame,
That caught my soul, all centered in his name.‡ Champion.

Her attendants agree to second her wishes; and as Zal was deeply enamoured of Roodavu by a description he had received of

* Omnia vincit amor et nos cedamus amori. Nearer the translation than the original.

† Should at my feet the world's great master fall,
Himself, his throne, his world, I'd scorn them all;
Not Cæsar's empress would I deign to prove,
No, make me mistress to the man I love. Pope's Eloisa.

‡ My heart's subdued
Ev'n to the very quality of my lord;
I saw Othello's visage in his mind,
And to his honour and his valiant parts
Did I my soul and fortune consecrate.

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her person,* they found no difficulty in drawing from him an avowal of his love. They have little need of persuasion to induce him to consent to an interview. The two *unknown lovers* are brought

* The picture of Roodavu is drawn with admirable skill:

پس پرده او یکي دختر است — که رویش چو خورشید روشن‌تر است
زسر تا میانش بکردار عاج — برخ چون بهشت و به بالا چو ساج
بر و سیب سیمین و مشکین کمند — سرش گشته چون حلقه پاي بند
دهانش چو گلنار و لب ناردان — زسمین برش رسته و ناردان
دوچشمش بسان دو نرگس باغ — مژه تیرکي برده از پر زاغ
دو ابرو بسان کمان طراز — برو توز پوشیده از مشک ناز
بهشت است سر تا سر آراسته — به خوبي به ارایش و خواسته

This Mihrab has a daughter, brighter far,
And far more radiant than the orient star;
Tall as the Sabbin tree, divinely fair,
Spotless as ivory her beauties are.
Her jetty locks in graceful ringlets play,
Charm every sense, and steal the soul away;
Her jetty locks her blooming beauties shade,
Pierce through the heart to instant love betray'd;
Even and white her well form'd teeth appear,
Not the white rose more delicately clear;
Her oval breast no fancy e're could paint,
Weak were all language, all description faint;
Nor the narcissus, which the florists prize,
Equals the beaming lustre of her eyes;
The lashes of the eye in graceful fall,
Still add new radiance as they shade the ball;
Black are the eye-lids, curved with wond'rous skill,
Seize the whole soul, and every passion fill:
'Tis all elysium! how by fortune blest
Will be that chief who captivates her breast. Champion.

Αγε ζωγράφων ἄριστε
Γραφε, ζωγραφων ἄριστε,
Ῥοδης κοίρανε τέχνης,
Ἀπίσσαν, ως ἄνωπω,
Γραφε τὴν ἐμὴν ἑταίρην, &c. &c.

Best and happiest artisan,
Best of painters, if you can,

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together; and their meeting may, in some degree, be compared to the delicacy and tenderness of the exquisite scene between Romeo and Juliet:

فرود آمد از کاخ بام بلند　　بدست اندرون دست شاخ بلند
سوي خانه زرنگار آمدند　　بدان مجلس شاهوار آمدند

With your many-coloured art
Paint the mistress of my heart;
Describe the charms you hear from me,
(Her charms you could not paint and see),
And make the absent nymph appear
As if her lovely self were here.
First draw her easy flowing hair,
As soft and black as she is fair,
And if your art can rise so high,
Let breathing odours round her fly;
Beneath the shade of flowing jet,
The ivory forehead smoothly set;
With care the sable brows extend,
And in two arches nicely bend;
That fair space which lies between
The meeting shade may scarce be seen.
The eye must be uncommon fire,
Sparkle, languish, and desire;
The flames unseen, must yet be felt,
Like Pallass kill, like Venus melt;
The rosy cheek must seem to glow
Amidst the white of new-fall'n snow;
Let the lips persuasion wear
In silence elegantly fair,
As if the blushing rivals strove,
Breathing and inviting love.
Below her chin be sure to deck,
With every grace, her polish'd neck;
While all that's pretty, soft, and sweet,
In the swelling bosom meet.
The rest ——— Anacreon 28. (Guardian.)

The Venus of the Persians is Bilgees (Queen Sheba), whose beauties have been celebrated by Khaqanee and Fyzee, the brother of Abool Fuzl, who left his Soliman Nama unfinished. Jamee has given a long and turgid description of the beauties of Zuleekha; Nizamee's descriptions are always full of fire and spirit; Jamee tortures the alphabet to exemplify the beauties of his heroine, and is always full of puns and quibbles. Portia's picture may give a faint, a very faint notion of the imagery of Persian poets.

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شگفت اندرون ماند پس زال زر — بدان موي بالا و ان موي فر
بهشتي برا راسته پر ز نو ر — پرستنده برپاي و در پيش حور
ابا باده و طوق و با گوشوار — زديبا وگوهر چو باغ بهار
دو رخساره چون لاله اندرسمن — سر جعد وزلفش شكن برشكن
همان زال بافر شاهنشهي — نشسته برماه بافرهي
حمايل يكي دسته اندر برش — زياقوت سرخ افسري برسرش
زديدنش رودابه مي بارميد — به دزديده دردي همي بنگريد
از ان شاخ و يال و ازان فروبرز — كه خاره چو خاك آمدي زو به زر
فروغ رخش‌را كه جانرا فروخت — درو پيش ديدي دلش پيش سوخت
همي بود بوس و كنارو نبيد — مگرشير كو كوررا بشكريد
سپهد چنين گفت با ماه روي — كه اي سروسيمين بر و مشك بوي
منوچهر چون بشنود داستان — نباشد بدين كارهمداستان
همان سام نبرم برآرد خروش — كف اندازه و با من آيد به حوش
وليكن سرمايه جان است و تن — همان خوارگيرم بپوشم كفن
جهان افرين بشنود وگفت من — مگر كاشگارا شوي جفت من
بدوگفت رودابه همچنين — پذيرفتم از داوركيش دين
كه برمن نباشد كسي بادشاه — چنين افرين برزبانم گواه
جز از پهلوان جهان زال زر — كه با تاج وتخت است و با نام وفر
مگراز دل سام و شاه زمين — به شويد زخم زپيكار و كين
همي مهرشان هر زمان پيش بود — خرد دور بود آرزو پيش بود
چنين باز آمد سپيده زچاي — بتيره برآمد زپرده سراي
پس آنماه‌را زود پدرود كرد — دل خويش دستان پر از دود كرد
سر مژه كردند هردو پر آب — زبان برگشادند بر آفتاب
كه فرگيتي بدين تخت نيز — يكايك نبايست آمد تميز

Now they descend, and to the palace move,
Attended by the slave who knew their love.
The gay illuminations gild the scene,
All was Elysium, splendid, yet serene!
Zal, all amaz'd, all glowing with desire,
Gaz'd on the eyes which beam'd celestial fire;

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Her hair, her face, her ev'ry opening bloom,
Catch his fond soul, and fix the lover's doom.
In tissue drest, the sparkling necklace glows,
The bracelet on her hand new beauty throws;
In her small ear the splendid jewels blaze,
And every jem of variegated rays;
Bright as the various garden of the spring,
Melodious as when Nature's songsters sing:
Not even roses on Arabian gales
Thus scent the air, or fill the passing sails.*
On the same couch they sit; on Zal's high head
A crown of rubies and of gems was spread;
With flow'rs diversified his ringlets wave,
And his bright form confess'd the warrior brave.
Roodavu blush'd, and in her conscious eye
Blaz'd the fierce rapture, and the am'rous sigh;
On all his charms, his eminence, she gaz'd,
Hung o'er his manly form, and much she prais'd.
She bids him rise; now stung with keen desires,
Their fond embraces speak internal fires;
Bliss smil'd enchanting, and with rapture warm
Around them Love diffused his brightest charm:
Thus the fierce lion, bounding o'er the deer,
In playful fondness chases every fear.†
Zal then exclaims, "Oh thou, whose scented hair,
Fair maid, with musk, perfumes the ambient air!

* Neither the Arabians nor Persians attribute this quality to the tepid gales which blow from the barren and rocky coast of Arabia; the translator forgets his original.

† Horace uses this image very differently:

——juvet ut tygres subsidere cervis,
Adulteretur et columba milüo. Epod 16.

But the Persians never consider of the justness of their similies.

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When Munokhchere our nuptial rites shall know,
I fear his anger, and the future woe!
That Sam, indignant, will declare his rage;
That death, alas! must close my early age!
Hear thou, high Heaven! and ye Powers above,
No other object shall enjoy my love."
Roodavu thus replied, " Let Heaven attest
The same bright purpose of my faithful breast:
Though scepter'd monarchs at my feet should fall,
Their thrones, their splendour, I would scorn them all;
My prayers to Heaven shall testify my soul,
Zal shall my wishes, all my thoughts controul;
My prayers shall soften th' illustrious sire,
Calm every thought, and his assent inspire."
Lost was each sense, dissolv'd in soft delight,
And love encreases from the gazing sight.
Thus passed the fleeting hours, till the grey dawn
Beheld the sun just peeping o'er the lawn,
Till from afar the silver tabors play:
The lovers part; the pensive sighs display
The pang it gave; while tears o'erflow'd the face,
Their love was pictur'd in the fond embrace.
" To the bright orb, intruding light," they cry,
" Why early spangle all the morning sky?
Why thus our bliss, our happier hours destroy,
And close with pain the raptur'd scene of joy?" Champion.

Zal, happy in the possession of his love, resolves upon informing his father of his passion for Roodavu. Sam yields an unwilling consent; but in the meantime their mutual love is discovered by Seendokht, the mother of Roodavu. She is unable to conceal the

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secret from her husband, who breaks out in a paroxysm of rage, and is with difficulty restrained from destroying his unfortunate daughter. Munokhchere also receives accounts of this affair; and dreading the result of an union between Zal and a descendant of Zohak, commands the attendance of Sam. He receives him with uncommon attention; and in a few days orders him to march against Mihrab, and to destroy him. Sam receives the command with sorrow and submission, and sets out to execute the tyrant's jealous and unfeeling mandate. Zal, highly incensed at the king's barbarity and his father's weakness, expostulates with Sam, and at length persuades him to write to the king, and to allow him to carry the letter. Sam enumerates, in his letter to Munokhchere, the obligations he had conferred upon the Persian government; and gives a full account of his killing an enormous serpent, which, like the hydra of antiquity, destroyed the surrounding country.

زمن گر نبودي به گيتي نشان — بر آورده گردن ز گردن کشان
چنان اژدها کو برود کشف — برون آمد و گرد گيتي چو کف
زمين شهر تا شهر بالاي او — همان کوه تا کوه پهناي او
جهان را از و بود در دل هراس — همي داشتندي شب و روز پاس
هوا پاک ديدم ز پايندگان — همان روي گيتي ز درندگان
ز تفش همي پر کرکس به سوخت — زمين زبر زيرش همي بر فروخت
نهنگ وژم برکشيدي چو آب — همان از هوا تيرپران عقاب
زمين گشت بي مردم و چارپاي — جهان جمله اورا سپردند جاي
چو ديدم که اندر جهان کس نه بود — که با او همي دست يازد سود
بزور جهاندار يزدان پاک — بيفگند از دل همه ترس و باک
ميان را به بستم بنام بلند — نشستم بران پيل پيکر سمند
بزين اندرون کرزه گاوسر — ببازو کمان و بکرن سپر
برفتم بسان نهنگ دژم — مرا تيز چنگ و ورا تيز دم
زبانش بسان درخت سياه — ز فر باز کرده فگنده به راه
چو دور بگيرش پر از خون دو چشم — مرا ديد و غريد و آمد به خشم
گماني چنان بردم اي شهريار — که دارد مگر آتش اندر کنار

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جهان پیش چشمم چو دریا نمود — برابر سیه بر شده تیره دود
یکي نیزالماس پیکان خدنگ — بچرخ اندرون داننده بي درنگ
به سوي زفر کردم این تیررام — بدان تا به دوزم زبانش به کام
زدم در زمان بر لب اژدها — یکي بانگ هول آمد از وي رها
چو شد یک کران دهانش — بماند او شگفتي به بیرون زبانش
هم اندر زمان دیگري هم چنان — زدم بر دهانش به پیچید ازان
سه دیگر زدم برمیان زفرش — بر آمد همي جوش خون از جگرش
چون تنگ اندر آورد با من زمین — ز زهرش زمین شد چو دریاي چین
جهاني بران جنگ نظاره بود — که ان اژدها سخت بتیاره بود
زبانش بلرزید و روي زمین — ز زهرش زمین شد چو دریاي چین
برو برزدم بانگ برسان شیر — چنان چون بود کار مرد دلیر
به نیروي یزدان کیهان خداي — بر انگیختم پیلتن را ز جاي
زدم برسرش گارزه گاوسر — برو کوه بارید گفتي سپهر
شکستم سرش چون سرزنده پیل — فرو ریخت زو زهر چون آب نیل
بزخمي چنان شد که دیگر نه خاست — زمغزش زمین گشت با کوه راست
کشف رود پر خون و خوناب گشت — زمین جاي آرامش و خواب گشت
همه کوه ساران پر از مرد و زن — همي افرین خواندندي به من
مرا سام یکزخم از ان خواندند — جهاني زر و گوهر افشاندند

Were I not active, desolating trains
Had mark'd with blood Irania's rich domains.
The winding serpent once spread wide dismay,
Stretching from town to town his horrid way,
High as a mountain, at whose hideous sight
Hope fled the world, and set in endless night;
No bird could safely wing the ærial sky,
No beast could move; the Kergush, darting high,
Sunk at his breath; e'en the interior ground
Foam'd at his motion, trembling at his sound.
The water dragon frightened fell his prey,
And the black eagle dropp'd with sad dismay;

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Mankind with terror saw whole cities fall,
And the whole world yielded to the serpent's call.
When this I knew, I felt the hero's glow,
God gave me force to dare the serpent foe:
In his high name my girdle on I bound,
Sprung on my horse, nor feared the hostile wound.
Now on my saddle blaz'd my cow-grav'd blade,
My bow and arrows o'er my arm were laid;
With rapid speed, as water-dragons fierce,
I lance my javelin, and my arrows pierce.
The crowds beheld me all appall'd and low,
And thought fate certain from the dreadful foe.
When near I came, and saw the monstrous sight,
Rising terrific as a mountain's height,
While o'er the ground far hangs his circling mane,
As toils to catch; the sure, the mortal bane!
As the black tree, when issuing from its veins
A mortal juice; thus with malignant stains,
Hoarse sounds his voice, while stagnant on his lips
Hang the dark foam which deadliest venom dips.
When his blood-darting eye beheld me near,
He roar'd indignant, and I launch'd my spear.
I thought, O king! emitting from his frame,
Around there issued pestilential flame.
As the smooth surface of a summer's stream
Nature was hush'd; I heard no distant theme.
Like a black cloud his dreadful foam arose,
The wide earth trembled while his nostril blows;
The world all shook, as when the dreadful roars
Of seas contending rush on China's shores.
I raised my voice, and with a lion's sound,
As suits a warrior, dared him to the ground.

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Steel pointed arrows from my bow I drew,
Aim'd the unerring shaft, it swiftly flew,
Tearing his hair, and passing through his throat,
Lodg'd in his brain, and life seem'd all afloat;
Another follows, when his venom'd tongue,
Foaming with blood and deadliest poison, hung;
Another piercing through his throat, once more,
Laid him in anguish, weltering in his gore;
He writhed his body, when I raised my steel,
Spurr'd my fierce courser—Heav'n applauds my zeal.
The cow-grav'd sword impels the mortal blow,
Like falling mountains fell the serpent foe;
His elephantine head now shatter'd lies,
Rapid the poison flows, the monster dies;
Such streams of venom all the earth defile,
Vast as the flowing of the rapid Nile.
Crowds came to bless me, and the joyful throng
Hail'd me, in grateful triumph, " Sam the Strong."*

Champion.

* Hoc conditus antro
Martius anguis erat, cristis præsignis et auro.
Igne micant occuli; corpus tumet omne veneno;
Tresque vibrant linguæ: triplici stant ordine dentes.
Quem postquam Tyriâ lucum de gente profecti
Infausto tetigere gradu: demissaque in undas
Urna dedit sonitum; longo caput extulit antro
Cæruleus serpens. Horrendaque sibila misit.
Effluxere urnæ manibus, sanguisque reliquit
Corpus, et attonitos subitus tremor occupat artus.
Ille volubilibus squamosos nexibus orbes
Torquet, et immensos saltu sinuatur in arcus:
Ac media plus parte leves erectus in auras
Despicit omne nemus: tantoque est corpore, quanto
Si totum spectes, geminas qui separat arctos.
Nec mora. Phœnicas (sive illi tela parabant,
Sive fugam sive ipse timor prohibebat utrumque)
Occupat: hos morsu, longis complexibus illos;

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The king grants his consent to Sam's petition, and Zal returns upon the wings of impatient love to his beloved Roodavu. Their nuptials are celebrated with great pomp and splendour. Roodavu becomes pregnant, and is delivered of Roostum, as Semele was of Bacchus. She is relieved, however, by the Seemoorgh, whose assistance alleviates the pain of the operation.

The whole of this beautiful episode of Zal and Roodavu is related with uncommon animation and tenderness; and is supported with

Hos necat afflatos funeste tabe veneni.
Fecerat exiguas jam Sol altissimus umbras:
Quæ mora sit sociis miratur Agenore natus;
Vestigatque viros: tegimen direpta leoni
Pellis erat; telum splendenti lancea ferro;
Et jaculum, teloque animus præstantior omni.
Ut nemus intravit, lethataque corpora vidit,
Victoremque supra spatiosi corporis hostem
Tristia sanguineâ lambentem vulnera linguâ:
Aut ultor vestræ fidissima corpora mortis,
Aut comes, inquit, ero. Dixit; dextraque molarem
Sustulit; et magnum magno conamine misit
Illius impulsu cum turribus ardua celsis
Mœnia mota forent. Serpens sine vulnere mansit.
Loricæque modo quamis defensus, et atræ
Duritia pellis, validos cuti reppulit ictus.
At non duritiâ jaculum quoque vincit eadem,
Quod medio lentæ fixum curvamine spinæ
Constitit; et toto descendit in ilia ferro.
Ille dolore ferox caput in sua terga retorsit:
Vulneraque adspexit, fixumque hastile momordit.
Idque, ubi vi multa partem labefecit in omnem,
Vix tergo eripuit. Ferrum tamen ossibus hæret.
Tum vero; postquam solitas accessit ad iras
Plaga recens, plenis tumuerunt guttura venis:
Spumaque pestiferos circumfluit albida rictus:
Terraque rasa sonat squamis; quique halitus exit
Ore niger Stygio vitiatas inficit auras.
Ipse modo immensum spiris facientibus orbem
Cingitur: interdum longa trabe rectior exit.
Impete nunc vasto, ceu concitus imbribis amnis
Fertur et obstantes proturbat pectore silvas.
Cedit Agenorides paulum: spolioque leonis
Sustinet incursus; instantiaque ora retardat
Cuspide prætenta. Furit ille, et inania duro

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a degree of spirit which is quite unusual with Persian poets. The loves of Sheereen, of Lylee, or of Zuleekha, fall infinitely below the passion of Roodavu for Zal. Their passion, instead of making them speak in natural and unaffected language, makes them reveal their love in a torrent of quibbles, of puns, and of *Eastern conceits*. This is a fault which cannot be alleged against Firdousee; but which may be brought against Nizamee, Jamee, or Hatif, in almost every line of their Musnuwees. They have borrowed from his invention, but have either neglected or despised his simplicity; and have concealed the delicacy of his sentiments under a mass of absurd metaphors and incongruous similes. The generality of Persians, however, would probably prefer Nizamee or Jamee to Firdousee; and in India I have no doubt to whom the preference would be given.

Munokhchere, after a reign of an hundred and twenty years, abdicates the throne in favour of his son Nodoorz, and predicts the events of his reign. These are fulfilled. Afrasiab invades Persia, makes a prisoner of Nodoorz, and, in revenge for the defeat which was given his army by Zal, destroys the unfortunate monarch. Afrasiab reigns in Persia; Zal and Roostum maintain themselves in Cabool: the latter, after a variety of adventures, discovers Ky Kobad near the mountain of Elboorz.

Vulnera dat ferro: figitque in acumine dentes.
Jamque venenifero sanguis manare palato
Cœperat, et virides aspergine tinxerat herbas:
Sed leve vulnus erat: quia se retrahebat ab ictu;
Læsaque colla dabat retro; plagamque sedere
Cedendo arcebat, nec longius ire sinebat,
Donec Agenorides conjectum in gutture ferrum
Usque sequens pressit: dum retro quercus eunti
Obstitit; et fixa est pariter cum robore cervix.
Pondere serpentis curvata est arbor, et imæ
Parte flagellari gemuit sua robora caudæ. Metam. Lib. iii.

I have made too long a quotation to notice the story of Bahram Gour destroying the hydra. Nizamee falls infinitely below Firdousee, although of all the Persian poets he approaches him the nearest. Longe sed proximi intervallo.

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They engage Afrasiab's army; and Roostum signalizes himself by making a prisoner of Afrasiab, who, however, unfortunately escapes. The Turks are driven across the Oxus with the loss of 160,000 men. Afrasiab gives a recital to his father, Pishung, of the ill success of his arms, and generously acknowledges Roostum's vast superiority. A peace is, in consequence of these victories, concluded between the two states.

Ky Kobad reigns an hundred and twenty years, and is succeeded by his son, Ky Kaoos, a weak and foolish prince. He attempts, contrary to the advice of his nobles, the conquest of Mazendaran, and is defeated and made prisoner by the demons of that country.

Roostum undertakes to release the king from confinement. His journey is marked by seven adventures, called the seven stages, which fall infinitely below the labours of Hercules. Indeed, his famous horse Rukhsh deserves almost as much credit as his master. Roostum at length defeats all his enemies, relieves Ky Kaoos, and restores his sight in a miraculous manner. The king's misfortunes fail to effect a reformation in his conduct: he involves his country once more in the greatest distress, and is again released by Roostum.

Roostum after this visits the Prince of Sumuncan, whose daughter falls in love with the hero, and whom he marries. He returns, after a short stay, into Persia; and his wife is delivered of Sohrab, who proves himself worthy of so distinguished a parent. When he arrives at manhood, he attacks Hujeer, a servant of the Persian government, and seizes upon his person. Goord Afreed, a female amazon, endeavours to rescue him, engages Sohrab, who, after a sharp conflict, makes her his prisoner, and discovers that she is a woman. Like a second Tancred, he falls in love with this new Clorinda, and releases her.

Ky Kaoos sends for Roostum (who was ignorant of his having a son) who makes some delay in obeying the king's order; which so incenses Ky Kaoos, that upon his arrival he commands him to be

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seized and confined. Roostum enraged at the king's folly and ingratitude, returns to Cabool; and Ky Kaoos is now obliged to descend to entreaties and prayers to soften his anger. The army at length marches, and Roostum advances to reconnoitre the enemy.

Sohrab, dreading lest he should engage his father, endeavours to discover from his prisoner, Hujeer, the marks which would denote Roostum. A description of the Persian army is now artfully introduced; and Hujeer, to deceive Sohrab, calls Roostum a chief who had accompanied Ky Kaoos from China. An engagement ensues between the two armies, and Sohrab is opposed to Roostum. They fight, without gaining any advantage, until they are both exhausted, and mutually agree to defer their combat till the next morning. Sohrab endeavours to discover whether he is engaging Roostum, but is deceived even by Roostum himself.

Sohrab engages Roostum the following morning, and hurls him to the ground. As he was preparing to make away with his antagonist, Roostum informs him that it was unusual for a chieftain in Persia to take advantage of the first fall.* Sohrab, with undaunted valour, gives Roostum his life, who retires, bruised and defeated from the field. They part; and Sohrab breaks in upon the Persian line, where he is encountered by Roostum. Their combat is related with much spirit:

چنین گفت رستم به مرد جوان — که نیکو نگه کن تو اي پهلوان
بسهراب گفت ان یل شیرگیر — کمند افگن وگرز و شمشیرگیر
دگرگونه تر باشد آیین ما — جز این باشد آرایش دین ما
کسي کو به کشتي نبرد آورد — سرسرکشي زیر کرد آورد
نخستین که پشتش نهد بر زمین — نبرد سرش گرچه باشد به کین

Roostum thus addressed the young warrior: "Reflect well, o champion! the destroyer of lions! versed in throwing the net, in the use of the mace and the sword: Our customs differ: our religion teaches us, that those who wrestle, and hurl their enemy to the ground, should not take advantage of the first fall, although they are inflamed with mutual hatred."

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همي تاخت سهراب چون پيل مست — يكي خنجر آب داده بدست
گرازان وچون شير نعره زنان — كمندش جهان وجهان را كنان
تهمتن از و ماند اندر شگفت — ز پيكارش اندازه‌ها برگرفت
چو سهراب باز آمد اورا بديد — ز باد جواني دلش بردميد
چنين گفت كاي رسته از چنگ شير — دگر آمدي باز نزد دلير
چرا آمد ستي به پيشم بگوي — سوي راستي خود نتابي تو روي
دگر باره اسپان به بستند سخت — بسر بر همي گشت بد خواه بخت
بكشتي گرفتن نهادند سر — گرفتند هر دو دوال كمر
هرامگه كه خشم آورد بخت شوم — شود سنگ خارا بكردار موم
زشب گير تا سايه گستر دهور — همي اين بر ان ان بر ين كرده شور
سر افراز سهراب وان زور دست — تو گفتي كه چرخ بلندش به بست
غمي گشت رستم بيازيد چنگ — گرفتش سر و بال چنگ بچنگ
خم آورد پشت دلير جوان — زمانه بيامد نماندش توان
زدش بر زمين به كردار شير — بد انست كو هم نماند بزير
سبك تيغ تيز از ميان بر كشيد — بر شير بيدار دل بر دريد

"Sohrab rushes on like a furious elephant, wielding his bright scimitar; or, as a wild boar, or a roaring lion, destroying whole ranks with his fatal noose. When Roostum beheld him, he trembled at the remembrance of his former prowess. When Sohrab beheld him returned to the field, his heart beat with the high blood of youth.. He cried out, "Just escaped from the paws of the lion! do you oppose him again? why did not you seek another quarter?" They alighted from their horses; the fatal period approached. They began to wrestle, and seized each other by the waist; but wax, or the hard stone, yields equally in the hand of fate. They contended from morning till mid-day; fortune seemed to have deserted Sohrab; Roostum, raging with vexation, seized him by the two shoulders, and bent him to the ground. Fortune now lowered, and strength deserted Sohrab. Roostum, like a lion, struck him to the ground, but did not expect to secure him; he instantly drew

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out his poignard, and buried it in the breast of the lion-hearted warrior."

The unfortunate Roostum discovers too late that he has slain his own son: he bitterly laments an involuntary crime; but appears to derive some satisfaction that it was his own offspring who contended with him with so much hardihood. A peace is immediately concluded between the two states, and Roostum departs for Zabool. He is met by Zal and the nobles of the country, who feelingly regret the fate of his gallant son.

Firdousee does not present the character of his hero in the most amiable light. He first denies his name; and, when he was defeated, takes advantage of his son's unsuspicious valour. The hero was vanquished, and *begged his life*, and then seized an occasion to destroy an enemy, who was at least entitled to the indulgence he had shewn.

There is no apparent reason why Roostum should deny his name;* upon every other occasion he is forward in divulging it. The full grown hero might be indignant at his prowess being foiled by a boy, and unwilling to flatter his rival with the merit of resisting the champion of Persia. The custom of refraining from taking an advantage of a first victory, might be conformable to the manners of Persia; but it was by no means incumbent upon Sohrab to admit an observance which exposed his life to a second hazard. If accident decided victory upon one occasion, it might do so upon another; and it seems absurd to forego an advantage which either conduct or fortune had placed in our hands. But Roostum never observed the same clemency towards a vanquished

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* چنین داد پاسخ که رستم نهیم — هم از تخمهٔ سام نیرم نهیم
که او پهلوانیست ومن کهترم — نه با تخت وگاهم نه با افرم

* He answered, I am not Roostum, neither am I related to him; for he is a warrior, and I am unknown. I have neither a crown, a throne, nor riches.

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enemy; he only inculcated it when he fell beneath superior poowess. Firdousee exalts the character of Sohrab, but depreciates that of Roostum's: the one appears to have been brave and generous, the other wily and subtle.

The story of Seeavush, and his step-mother, Soodavu, follows the episode. She falls in love with Seeavush; and her advances being rejected, accuses him, like another Phædra, of attempting to violate her chastity. But neither Firdousee, nor Jamee, in his Yoosoof and Zuleekha, have observed much delicacy of their females; they feel no hesitation in divulging their love, but avow it with an effrontery which would have disgusted persons of less fastidious or colder feelings than either Seeavush or Joseph.* Ky Kaoos acquits his son; but he is still persecuted by the malice of Soodavu, and is at length obliged to establish his innocence by the fiery ordeal.

Afrasiab breaks the peace, and Seeavush seizes the occasion to request permission to join the army. The Persians are successful, and the Turks are obliged to purchase a peace by the cession of Soghd, Samarcand, and Bokara. Afrasiab delivers up hostages; and Seeavush writes to his father, informing him of the terms of the pacification. Ky Kaoos, old and uxorious, refuses to ratify the treaty. Seeavush, incensed at his father's folly and imprudence, resolves upon retiring to Afrasiab, and acquaints Ky Kaoos with the reasons for this determination. Seeavush is received in the most handsome manner by Afrasiab, who gives him his daughter in marriage; but, after some time, listens to the insinuations of Kershooz, and at length murders his unfortunate visitor. The

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* من اینک به پیش تو استاده‌ام — تن و جان شیرین ترا داده‌ام
ز من هرچه خواهی همه کام تو — برآرم نه نیچم سر از دام تو
Firdousee.

ز شوقت جان رسیده برلب امروز — نیارم صبر کردن تا شب امروز
Jamee.

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metamorphosis of Seeavush into an herb, or of Furhad into an orange-tree, are much inferior to any of Ovid's

Peeran, whose daughter was also married to Seeavush, intercedes for the pardon of Zeringeez, the wife of Seeavush, and the daughter of Afrasiab. Her pardon is granted; and she is conveyed to the house of Peeran, where she is safely delivered of Ky Khoosroo. Ky Kaoos repents too late of his folly, and now determines to revenge the death of his son. An army penetrates into Turkestan under the command of Roostum, who slays in single combat Peel Ism, the champion of the Turks, and wounds Afrasiab. Afrasiab flies, and Roostum rules over Turkestan seven years. At the instigation of his brother, Zuwaru, he desolates the whole country, and then returns into Persia.

Geo is warned, in a dream, of his being the person destined to discover Ky Khoosroo. He commences his journey, and, after seven years, succeeds in discovering the object of his search. He accompanies him into Persia. Ky Khoosroo is proclaimed king by his grandfather at Persepolis, and all the nobles, excepting Toos, promise him obedience. Ky Khoosroo marches against him, and they are mutually reconciled.

Ky Kaoos urges Ky Khoosroo to revenge his father's murder. Toos is appointed to the command of the army, and is opposed by Furood, the brother of Ky Khoosroo, who is slain by Peezhun. The Persians are entirely discomfited, and are obliged to retire with the utmost precipitation. Toos and Godoorz meet with the fate of unfortunate generals; they are both confined, but are released at the intercession of Roostum.

Roostum joins the army, and success always accompanies him. He endeavours to effect an accommodation, but the presumption of Peeran defeats the moderation of his views. The engagement between Roostum and Polawund is related with much spirit; and

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I might give it as an excellent specimen of Firdousee's descriptive powers, had I not already made too many quotations. Roostum's adventures with the Deo Ukwan succeed this conflict; he is made prisoner, is thrown into the sea, and providentially escapes.

The progress of the war is suspended to relate the adventures of Peezhun and Godoorz. They are sent by the king against some wild boars who destroyed the surrounding country. Goorgeen, filled with envy against Peezhun, proposes that he should visit one of Afrasiab's hunting seats, where his daughter resided, and excites him to it by a beautiful description of the luxuries and delights of the place.* Peezhun follows this advice, and falls in love with Afrasiab's daughter; she returns it, and conceals him in her private apartments, where he is discovered by Kioshooz.

It may be worth while to compare this scene of a warrior, sunk into the softest luxury, with the admirable scene in Tasso, between Rinaldo and Armida. It is probable that Firdousee purposely passed it over in haste; yet we must regret that a poet, who is usually too minute, should have hurried over a scene which admitted of the highest embellishment:

بیامد به نزدیک آن خانه زود — کجا اندرو مرد بیگانه بود
ز در چون به پیزن در افگند چشم — بجوشید خونش برگ پر زخشم
در آنخانه سیصد پرستنده دید — همه با رباب و سرود و نبید
چو پیزن نشسته میان زنان — بلب برمي مرغ شادي کنان
چو پیزن مر اورا بدیدش ز دور — غم آمد مرا گفت هنگام سود
به پیچید برخویشتن پیزنا — که چون رزم سازم برهنه تنا

" He approached with hasty steps the house where the stranger was concealed. When he beheld Peezhun, his indignant blood flowed quickly through his veins. He saw three hundred female servants playing upon the harp, singing, or drinking the purest wine. Peezhun was seated in the midst of them, and his lips seemed

* See Sir William Jones's Works, vol. ii. p. 314.

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moist with wine. When Peezhun beheld him at a distance, he trembled at his approaching fate, he felt the utmost vexation at his helpless situation."

How greatly superior is the description in Tasso:

There sat Armida on a flowery bed,
Her wanton lap sustain'd the hero's head:
Her op'ning veil her ev'ry bosom show'd,
Loose to the fanning breeze her tresses flow'd:
A languor seem'd diffus'd o'er all her frame,
And every feature glow'd with am'rous flame,
The pearly moisture on her beauteous face
Improv'd the blush, and heighten'd ev'ry grace;
Her wand'ring eyes confess'd a pleasing fire,
And shot the trembling beams of soft desire.
Now fondly hanging o'er, with head declin'd,
Close to his face her lovely cheek she join'd;
While o'er her charms he taught his looks to rove,
And drank, with eager thirst, new draughts of love.
Now bending down enraptur'd, as he lies,
She kiss'd his vermil lips and swimming eyes;
Till from his inmost heart he heav'd a sigh,
As if to her's the parting soul would fly.
All this, &c. &c. Hoole's Tasso, b. 14, p. 126.

Goorgeen, upon his return to court, is suspected of having behaved treacherously towards Peezhun. Roostum, disguised as a merchant, sets out in search of him; and meeting with Afrasiab's daughter, learns the place of his confinement. Roostum, after vanquishing the son of Ukwan Deo, releases his captive friend.

The thread of the war is again resumed, and an account is given of the defeat, in single combat, of the twelve champions of Tooran. It ends with the defeat and death of Peeran, who dies like a brave

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and honourable warrior. In some parts it resembles the fall of Hector or of Turnus; but Peeran refuses to purchase his life with disgrace:

سپه‌دار ایران و توران بهم — فراز آمدند اندر آن کین دژم
همي بر نوشتند هردو زمین — همه دل پر از درد و سر پر ز کین
به تیغ و به خنجر به گرز و کمند — زهر گونه برنهادند بند
به آورد نیزه سواران زگرد — فرو ماند خورشید روز نبرد
فراز آمد ان گردش ایزدي — از ایران به توران رسید ان بدي
به تورانیان برید ان جنگ شوم — به اختر بد ایران فرخنده بوم
ابا خواست یزدانش چاره نبود — کجا کوشش زور و باره نبرد
نگه کرد پیران که هنگام چیست — بدانست کان گردش ایزدي است
ولیکن به مردي همي کرد کار — بکوشید با گردش روزگار
از ان پس کمان برگرفتند و تیر — دو سالار لشکر دو هشیار پیر
یکي تیر باران گرفتند سخت — چو بادخزان بگذرد بر درخت
نگه کرد کودرز تیر خدنگ — که آهن ندارد مر اورا به سنگ
به برکستوان برزد و بردرید — تکاور بکرزید و دم درکشید
بیفتاد پیران و آمد به زیر — به غلطید زیرش سوار دلیر
به نیرو بدو نیم شد دست راست — هم انگه به پیچید و بر پاي خاست
بدانست کامد زمانه فراز — و زان روز تیره نیاید جواز
زکودرز بگریخت شد سوي کو — غمي شد ز درد دویدن ستوه
همي شد بر ان کوه سر بردوان — کز و باز گردد مگر پهلوان
نگه کرد کودرز بگریست زار — بترسید از گردش روزگار
بدانست کش نیست با کس وفا — میان بسته دارد ز بهر جفا
فغان کرد کاي نامور پهلوان — چه بودت که ایدون پیاده دوان
بکردار نخچیر در پیش من — کجات ان سپه اي سر انجمن
نیامد ز لشکر ترا یار کس — وز ایشان نه بینمت فریادرس
کجات ان زر و زور و مرد انگي — سلیح و دبرو گنج و فرزانگي
ستون گران پشت افراسیاب — کنون شاه را تیره گشت آفتاب
زمانه ز تو پشت برکاست روي — که هنگام کینه تو چاره مجوي
چو کارت چنین گشت زنهار خواه — بدان تات زنده برم نزد شاه
ببخشاید از دل همي بر تو بر — که هستي چو من پهلوان پیر سر
بدو گفت پیران که این خود مباد — به فرجام بر من چنین بد مباد

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گزین بس مرا زندگانی بود بزنهار رفتن گمانی بود
من اندر جهان مرگ را زاده‌ام بدین کار کردن ترا داده‌ام
شمیدستم این داستان از مهان که هرچند باشی به خورم جهان
سرانجام مرگ است و زین چاره نیست بمن بر بدی جای بیغاره نیست
همیگشت گودرز بر کرد کوه نبودش برو راه آمد ستوه
پیاده به بود و سپر بر گرفت همیرفت و مانده ز گردون شگفت
گرفته سپر پیش و ژوبین بدست ببالا نهاده سر از جای پست
همی دید پیران مر اورا ز دور بجست از سر سنگ سالار تور
بینداخت خنجر بکردار تیر برآمد به بازوی سالار پیر
چو گودرز شد خسته بر دست اوی زکینه بخشم اندر آورد روی
بینداخت ژوبین به پیران رسید زره بر تنش سر بسر بردرید
ز پشت اندر آمد به راه جگر بغرید و آسیمه بر گشته سر
بر آمدش خون جگر از دهان روانش ز تن رفت هم در زمان

"The commanders of the two armies approached each other in the bloody field. They measure an equal distance from the two armies; their hearts rage with mutual anger. They attack each other with the sword, the poignard, and the noose. Clouds of dust, raised by innumerable cavalry, obscure the sky. The will of heaven now manifested itself; misfortune attended upon the Tooran army. The battle proves unfavourable to the Turks: Fortune shines propitiously on the arms of Persia. When fate lowers, whence are we to expect assistance? Peeran beheld the approaching disasters, and recognized the will of heaven; but he persevered undaunted, and combated against fortune. They both resort to the bow: their arrows fly as thick as leaves, driven by the autumnal blast, fall from the bending tree. Godoorz chooses an arrow which would pierce the hardest iron: he drew it with an unerring aim; the arrow flew, and pierced the breast-plate of the horse; he staggered, and fell to the ground. Peeran fell under his charger, and his arm was broken by the fall. He rose; fate now hovered near him; he saw that he could not escape the will of Providence. He fled,

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before Godoorz towards a hill, but with difficulty and with pain. He reaches the hill, and trusts that Godoorz will relinquish the pursuit. Godoorz beheld him, and laments his fallen state. He saw that Fortune was to all equally faithless; perpetually on the watch to do harm. He cried out, O illustrious chief! why do you fly on foot? Do you fly from me as the game of the forest? Where is your army, O commander of nobles? No one comes to your assistance, I see not a friend near you. What has become of your strength and bravery; your weapons, your glory, and great gifts? You were the support of Afrasiab, but the sun of his glory declines. Fortune has turned from you, do not expect assistance. Beg for quarter, and allow me to carry you before my king. He will receive you graciously; for, like me, you are old, and your hair is silver. Peeran broke out, Do not expect it; do not suppose that I will exchange my character for so much infamy. Do you conceive I could live, and be esteemed a coward? I was born to die, and it is given you to destroy me. Every one tells me, that however rich or happy, we still must die. We cannot escape death; *but I shall not be accounted criminal for being mortal.* Godoorz makes a circuit of the hill, but he returns faint and disappointed. He dismounts, and grasps his shield. He climbs the hill, pondering on the will of Heaven. He ascends the hill with a quick pace, advancing the shield before him, and shaking his spear. Peeran beholds him at a distance, and springs from his stony seat. As he approached, he throws his poignard, which wounds the venerable chief. Godoorz, pained by his wound, gives way to his bursting rage. He launches his spear, which penetrates the armour of Peeran. It preserves its course, and fixes itself in his liver. Peeran utters a groan; his sight becomes obscure; the blood gushes from his mouth, and his soul issues out at the same time."*

Firdousee now commences upon the war between Ky Khoosroo

* Unâ eademque viâ sanguis animusque sequntur.

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and Afrasiab. It has been usual to suppose Ky Khoosroo, the Cyrus of the Greeks; not on account of any great similarity between the two characters, but because they are said to have lived about the same time. I reserve my remarks upon this subject for a future opportunity. I shall only now observe, that the first time we find Ky Khoosro at the head of his army, his force is composed of levies from Bagdad, Arabia Felix, and Ardbeel;* and that instead of waging war in Irak Arabee, he carries his arms across the Arnu, or Oxus, into Turkestan, or independent Tartary.

Ky Khoosroo, finding that the enemy was nearly subdued, resolves upon enjoying the fame of vanquishing a prostrate rival. He advances towards Tooran, and Afrasiab prepares to oppose him on the banks of the Oxus. He crosses this river, penetrates into Turkestan, and obliges Afrasiab to sue for peace. He rejects all terms of accommodation, slays Shydu, the son of Afrasiab, in single combat, and defeats the Turks in a general engagement. Afrasiab flies, and Ky Khoosroo pursues him. Another action is fought, which proves equally fatal to the Turks; and Afrasiab makes another effort to procure peace. He offers to purchase it by the cession of Cheen and Macheen; but Ky Khoosroo persists in the savage pleasure of prosecuting his revenge. The fort of Gung is taken by assault. Afrasiab makes his escape, and continues to make many gallant efforts to harrass the enemy's army. He, at length, meets with a complete overthrow, and is obliged to conceal himself in a cavern from the pursuit of the enemy. He is discovered, and brought before Ky Khoosroo. Ky Khoosroo insults the captive monarch with a mockery of his own justice, and gives a memorable example of it, by murdering the helpless king with his own hand. The king might affect to reconcile the savage

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* چو سیاع فرزانه شاه یمن بزرگان که از بردع و اردبیل
ز بغداد کردان و جنگ آوران

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barbarity of his conduct, by the duty which was imposed upon him, of destroying his father's murderer. Afrasiab was his grand-father; and (although led away by Kurshooz), had behaved to Seeavush in a hospitable and princely manner.

Ky Khoosroo confers the government of Tooran upon Jihoom, the son of Afrasiab; and, after a reign of sixty years, retires from the government and dies. Zal and Roostum still maintain the honour of the Persian arms; Godoorz, Toos, and Pureeboorz and Geo, unfortunately perish in the snow.

I might be excused noticing any other part of the Shah Namu, as, if it be considered an epic poem, it must be supposed to end upon the destruction of Afrasiab; but I cannot persuade myself to leave the reader in ignorance of the fate of Roostum. After the death of Ky Khoosroo, he continues in the greatest favour with Kishtasp, and destroys Isfundeear, the son of this prince, who had rebelled against his father. This story is related at great length, and with great spirit: but I have already exceeded the limits of my design, and must pass it over in silence. Roostum is driven to the greatest extremity, and is obliged to rely upon the assistance of the Seemoorgh. She furnishes him with one of her feathers, which he fixes upon one of his arrows, and discharges it against Isfundeear. The arrow pierces through both his eyes. This is the last memorable action of this celebrated warrior. His brother, Shughad, conspires against him; and contrives that he shall fall into a pit which he had purposely filled with spears, and other sharp pointed weapons. He falls by the hand of Roostum; but Roostum also becomes the victim of his treachery.

It would require an elaborate work to give a just criticism of the Shah Namu; my aim is but a faint sketch. The poetry of the Shah Namu is undoubtedly original; no other Persian poet) as far as I know) has attempted this species of composition, The Shah Namu is more remarkable for its strength than its sweetness;

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although it is in many parts as harmonious as the versification of Jamee. In a work of such great length, there will doubtless be a number of faulty lines, many of them evidently composed for the sake of the verse. In many instances the poet is tedious and uninteresting, particularly in his account of the discovery of Ky Khoosroo. He is often too minute; and, by making his description particular, makes it ridiculous. An example of this may be given in his description of the son of Ukwan Deo; which, instead of expressing his immense size by some bold figure, gives us his exact measure:

چو هفتاد رش بود بالاي او ده و هشت رش بود پهناي او

"He was one hundred yards high,* and twenty broad."

Notwithstanding this enormous height, Roostum contrives (we do not learn how) to cut off his head with a stroke of his scimitar.

I am not aware that Firdousee intends to inculcate any peculiar precept of morality; he seldom, however, omits an opportunity of making many moral reflections on the instability of life, and of human enjoyments:

کنون یادگار است از و ماه و مهر بکوشش برنج آي منماي چهر
درايد زجهان سالیان پنجصد نیفگند یکروز بنیاد به
جهان چرن برو بر نماند اي پسر تو مهرست انرا و انده مخور
فرانک نه آگاه بد زین نهان که فرزند او شاه شد درجهان

As the bright sun around his orbit moves,
And the pale moon within her orbit roves,
So life goes on; then mourn not transient fate,
Five hundred years this monarch rul'd in state,

---

* *Ursh* is the length of the two arms extended from the body: probably five feet. This circumstantial exactness is admirably ridiculed in the history of Martinus Scriblerus:

His eye-balls burn, he wounds the smoking plain,
And knots of scarlet riband deck his mane.

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Yet death his glory clos'd: tho' high in power,
Though fortune smil'd on each propitious hour,
He died like thee.*—Let not ambition fire,
Nor the vain trappings of the world desire.
Ah! let not grief, my son, disturb your breast,
Short is our period, ne'er completely blessed!
Feranuk could not know a future king,
A future hero from her loins would spring. Champion.

جهانا سراسر فسوني و باد — بتو نيست مرد خردمند شاد
بكردارهاي تو چون بنگرم — فسوست و بازي نيايد برم
يكايك همي بر بدان سان نياز — چه كوتاه عمر و چه ان دراز
چو مردادهٔ را باز خواهي ستد — چه غم گر بود خانهٔ ان لبد
اگر شهريارى و گر زير دست — چو از تو جهان ان نفس درگذشت
همه درد وخويشي اوشد چو خواب — به جاويد ماندن دلت بر متاب

If I behold the mirror of the world,
Its wiles, its baubles, playings, are unfurl'd:
And does desire of life the soul pervade?
Think that death soon will lead thee to the shade.
All the world gives, how soon she takes away!
For one short hour she beams with transient ray.
Though coral form'd thy doors, of what avail?
All fall alike in death's surrounding pale.
Though poor, though humble, though a mighty king,
Death makes you equal in his equal wing.†
Here joy and sorrow in oblivion sleep,
Ambition glows not! grief forgets to weep! Champion.

* Is not this a mistake? It is not countenanced by the original, which is wire-drawn by the translator.

† Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho
Nil interest, an pauper, et infimâ
De gente sub Dio moreris,
Victima nil miserantis Orci. Hor. Carm. Lib. ii. 3.

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The poets who have succeeded Firdousee have borrowed largely of him; but the pure fountain of the Shah Namu has been strangely defiled: nor have his own waters escaped from pollution. Two or three Shah Namus are at least requisite to be able to read his works with any degree of accuracy or satisfaction. The works of Firdousee, if not snatched from their approaching fate, will be rendered useless by the folly and ignorance of his transcribers. Firdousee informs us, that the Shah Namu contains 60,000 couplets; but I doubt whether there be a copy which does not contain either more or less than this number of verses. Firdousee was praised, and patronised by princes; but their protection could only secure him from the vengeance of Mahmood; it remains for the present age to rescue him from the hands of *barbarous Katibs*, and, by printing an accurate copy of his work, to perpetuate the fame of the sublimest Persian poet.

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CHAPTER IV.

The Odes of Hafiz.

THE verses of Hafiz appear to me to differ so much from any other writer, as to deserve a particular notice. The life of Hafiz has been given by almost every writer upon Persian Poetry; and, as I can add nothing to it, I shall pass it over in silence.* The odes of Hafiz have been very generally compared to those of Anacreon, or the lyrical odes of Horace: they appear to me to bear a greater resemblance to the Roman than the Grecian poets.

The poetry of Hafiz is quite singular; it bears little affinity to the productions of his predecessors. The Ghuzls of Sadee are forced and constrained, those of Hafiz simple and unaffected. There is a wildness, and often a sublimity, in Hafiz, which is not to be met with in any other Persian poet. The suddenness of his transitions from the theme of love and wine, to reflections upon the instability of all human enjoyments, are extremely beautiful, and in this particular greatly resemble many of the odes of Horace. I despair of doing any kind of justice to the poetry of Hafiz; and I cannot but remind my reader of the opinion which was so often inculcated by Sir William Jones,† that it is impossible to render the spirit of an

* They have forgot (I believe) to mention, that he intended to visit the King of Golconda, but excused himself after he had commenced his journey. Ferishta.

† Comme les auteurs Orientaux ne peuvent que perdre dans la traduction, il se peut qu'on trouvera outrés les éloges qui leur sont donnés dans ce traité; mais, que ceux qui pensent ainsi prennent la peine de traduire littéralement les ouvrages d'Horace, d'Anacreon, et de Sapho, et ils ne seront plus choqués de ce qui leur aura paru froid et sec dans quelques strophes de ces

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author in a simple translation; and that it would be equally unjust to judge of the beauties of Hafiz through the medium of a literal translation, as of the works of Horace, Anacreon, or Sappho.

بادہ و مطرب وگل جملہ مہیا ست ولي عیش بي یار میسر نہ شود یار کجا ست
دلم از صومعہ و صحبت شیخ است ملول یار ترسا بچہ گو خانہ خمار کجا ست
حافظ از باد خزان در چمن دھر مرنج فکر معقول بفرما گل بي خار کجا ست

" The singers, the wine, and the roses are at hand; but pleasure is not to be enjoyed without my smiling love. Where is she? My heart is full of sorrow in the company of the judge and the priest. Where is my lovely infidel? Which is the road to the tavern? Do not repine, in this garden of existence, O Hafiz! at the autumnal blast. Reflect, and think where is the rose without the thorn?"

صحن بستان ذوق مجلس صحبت یاران خوشست وقت گل خوشباد کزوي وقت میخواران خوشست
از صبا ھر دم مشام جان ما خوش میشود آري آري طیب انفاس ھوا داران خوشست
تا کشودہ گل نقاب اھنگ رحلت میکند ناله کن بلبل که گلبانگ ھوا داران خوشست
مرغ خوش خونرا بشارت باد کاندر راہ عشق دوست با ناله شب ھاي بیداران خوشست
از زبان سوسن ازادہ ام آمد بگوش کاندرین دیر کھن کار سبکباران خوشست
نست در بازار عالم خوشدلي و زرایگه ھست شیوہ رندي و خوشباشي عیاران خوشست
حافظا ترک جھان گفتن طریق خوشدلیست تا نہ پنداري که احوال جھانداران خوشست

" The lawn is pleasant, and the company of our friends is delightful: May the season of the rose be propitious, for it is agreeable to the lovers of wine.

" My soul is refreshed by the morning breeze; yes! yes! for the breath of the virtuous must be pleasant.

" The *blossoming* rose-bud hastens to destruction; lament, O nightingale! for the warbling of the birds is now agreeable.

odes ou chansons Persanes. On peut dire à ce propos avec Michel de Cervantes: Celui qui pretendroit juger, de quelque poëme que ce fut, dans une traduction littérale, pourroit aussi raisonnablement espérer de trouver, sur les revers d'une tapisserie les figures qu'elle représente dans toute leur delicatesse et toute leur splendeur. Sir William Jones, vol. v. p. 472.

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" May the warblers of the grove bring joyful tidings; for the afflicted, in the road of love, delight in their midnight songs.

" I learned, from the upright and pointed lily, that gaiety is to be preferred in this cautious and experienced age.

" There is no happiness in the world; if there be, it is enjoyed by those, O my friends! who follow the pleasures and delights of life.

" O Hafiz! there is some pleasure in abstaining from worldly pursuits: Do not suppose that the condition of the worldly is to be envied."

بحر ریست بحر عشق که هیچش کنارهٔ نیست آنجا جر آنکه جان بسپارد چارهٔ نیست
آنذم که دل به عشق دهي خوشدمي بود در کار خیر حاجت هیچ استخاره نیست

" The ocean of love is boundless; we have no resource but to resign our lives.

" Happy is the moment when you resign yourself to love: there is no occasion to consult fate in the performance of a virtuous action."

شب صحبت غنیمت دان که بعد از روزگار من بسي گردش کند گردون بسي لیل و نهار آرد
عماري دار لیلي را که همد ماه در حلم است خدایا در دل اندازش که بر مجنون گذار آرد
بهار عمر خواه ایدل دگر نه این چمن هر سال چو نسرین صد گل آرد بار و چون بلبل هزار آرد

" Value the night of love; for after me the heavens will oft revolve, and will bring many days and nights.

" O God! soften the heart of the unrestrained Lylee, whose beauties maketh a cradle of the moon; persuade her to visit the unhappy Mujnoon.

" Enjoy the spring of life, O my soul! for the garden, like the violet, will yearly produce a hundred flowers, and will attract a thousand nightingales."

اي دل غم دیده حالت به شود دل بد مکن وین سرشوریده باز آید به سامان غم مخور

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گر بهار عمر باشد باز بر تخت چمن — چترگل در سر کشي اي مرغ خوشخوان غم مخور
دور گردون گرد روزي بر مراد ما نرفت — دایما یکسان نباشد حال دوران غم مخور
ایدل ارسیل فنا بنیاد هستي برکن — چون ترا نوحست کشتي بان زطوفان غم مخور
هان مشو نومید چون واقف نه از سر غیب — باشد اندر پرده بازي هاي پنهان غم مخور

"Do not vex yourselves, O ye unhappy! for the times will change; do not be afflicted, for these tumults must be composed.

"If you could enjoy the spring of life once more in the verdant garden, regret not, O melodious bird! the pride of the blooming flower.

"The heavens have revolved, and my days have ended in disappointment; but I do not repine, for fate cannot always be the same.

"O my soul! if the waves of annihilation undermine the foundation of thy existence, of what avail is it, since you have Noah for a pilot?*

"Do not be grieved because you are unacquainted with the mysteries of Heaven; there may still be farther changes behind the curtain."

اي دل صبور باش ومخور غم که عاقبت — هر صبح شام گردد و هر شب سحر شود
روزي اگر غمي رسدت تنگدل مباش — رو شکر کن مبادا زین هم بتر شود

"Be patient, O my heart! be not vexed; for truly the morn is succeeded by night, and the night is succeeded by the morn.

"Do not be afflicted at calamity; pass on, and be thankful, lest you be afflicted more severely."

It would be endless to produce detached couplets, from the odes of Hafiz, of his resignation to whatever befell him, and of his contempt for worldly riches. I shall add but a few more.

* This is evidently an allegorical allusion. The sense is, since you are virtuous, what have you to dread from death? He makes a similar allusion in the following couplet:

یار مردان خدا باش که در کشتي نوح — هست خاکي به ابي نخرد طوفان را

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قومي بجد وجهد نهادند وصل دوست قومي دگر حواله به تقدير ميكنند
في الجمله اعتماد مكن بر ثبات دهر كاين كارخانه ايست كه تغير ميكنند
ميخور كه شيخ و حافظ ومفتي ومحتسب چون نيك بنگري همه تذوير ميكنند

"There are some who labour in the paths of love; there are others who leave every thing to fate.

"Do not put any faith in the permanency of the world, for it is a tenement liable to a number of changes.

"Drink wine; for when you see a virtuous act of the priest, the judge, or the *reader of the Koran*, they but deceive you."

غم دنيا دني چند خوري باده بخور حيف باشد دل دانا كه مشوش باشد

"Do not be vexed at the trifles of the world; drink, for it is a folly for a wise man to be afflicted.

اي دل ار عشرت امروز بفردا فگني مايه نقد بقارا كه ضمان خواهد شد

"O my heart! if you defer the pleasures of to-day until the morrow, who is there who will ensure your existence?

كل عزيز است وغنيمت شمريدش صحبت كه بباغ آمد ازين راه وازان خواهد شد

"Value the season of the rose, for it blooms in the garden, and there it will wither."

درين زمانه رفيقي كه خالي ازخلل است صراحي مي ناب و سفينه غزل است
جريده رو كه كذرگاه عافيت تنگ است پياله گيركه عمر عزيز بي بدل است
نه من زبي عملي درجهان ملولم وبس ملالت همه علما زعلم بي عمل است
بچشم عقل درين رهگذار پراشوب جهان وكارجهان بي ثبات وبي محل است
بگيرطره مه چهره وقصه مخوان كه سعد ونحمن ز تاثيرزهره وزحل است

"Now, the only friends who are free from care, are a goblet of wine and a book of odes.

"Travel unincumbered, for the paths of safety are narrow; take the glass, for our precious life is not to be recalled.

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"I am not the only one who is accused of being worthless; the learned, even, are accused for their theories without practice.

"The eye of wisdom, in this world of trouble, beholds the world and its concerns vain and transient.

"Kiss the ringlets of thy beloved and be silent; for the blessings and misfortunes of life flow from Venus and Saturn."

The odes of Hafiz are both grave and sportive; the images are drawn, however, from scenes of nature, and are applied with a felicity which is not often surpassed by European authors. I shall give a few examples of both these species of composition.

خوش آمد گل و زان خوشتر نباشد — که در دستت بجز ساغر نباشد
زماني خوشدلي دریاب دریاب — که دایم در صدف گوهر نباشد
عجب راهیست راه عشق هیهات — کسي سر برکند کش سر نباشد
بشوي اوراق گرهدرس مابي — که علم عشق در دفتر نباشد
زمن بینوش و دل در شاهدي بند — که حسنش بسته زیور نباشد
بیا اي شیخ و از خمخانه ما — شرابي خور که در گوثر نباشد
بنامیزد بتي سیمین تنم هست — که در بتخانه آنرا نباشد
من از جان بنده سلطان او یم — اگرچه یادش از چاکر نباشد
بتاج عالم ارایش که خورشید — چنین زیبنده افسر نباشد
غنیمت دان و میخور در گلستان — که گل تا هفته دیگر نباشد
شرابي بي خمارم بخش یا رب — که بادي هیچ درد سر نباشد
ایا بر لعل کرده جام زرین — به تخشا بر کسي کش زر نباشد
کسی گیرد خطا بر نظم حافظ — که هیچش لطف در گوهر نباشد

"The roses have come, nor can any thing afford so much pleasure as a goblet of wine.

"Learn to estimate present happiness, for the pearl will not continue for ever in the shell.

"Alas! what an inextricable path is the path of love; for they succeed who take the least thought.

"Tear your books, if you wish to study with me; for the science of love is not to be found in writing.

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" Hear me, and attach yourself to the lovely; for her beauties do not depend upon jewels.

" Come, O father! and drink such a bowl at the tavern, as you will not find in Heaven.

" By God! I have such a lovely idol, as is not to be met with in the house of Azr.

" I am the slave of his presence, although he may not think of me.

" I swear by the radiance of his crown, that the sun shines not with so much splendour.

" Be thankful, and drain the bowl in the garden; for in another week the roses will be no more.

" Give me such a bowl, O Heaven! that I may have no after head-ache.

" O Heaven! fill the golden cup with ruby wine, and give it to the poor and the distressed.

" Those only will find fault with the verses of Hafiz, who are devoid of merit."

The reader will perceive a strange confusion of gender in this ode; this it would have been impossible to have altered, and to have preserved the spirit of the poet, who breaks off in many allusions to the Supreme Creator. I shall notice this more fully in its proper place; at the same time it must be allowed, that the verses of the Eastern poets are often as licentious as the poetry of Greece or Rome.*

حاصل کارکهه کون و مکان اینهمه نیست باده پیش آرکه اسباب جهان اینهمه نیست
از دل وجان شرف صحبت جانان غرض همه آنست وگرنه دل و جان اینهمه نیست

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* Me nec fœmina nec puer
Jam, nec spes animi credula mutui
Nec certare juvat mero. Lib. iv. 1.

It would be endless and disgusting to notice the innumerable passages of the Roman Poets, See Ovid, Art. Amand. lib. ii. Quod juvet, ex æquo fœmina, &c. &c.

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منت سدره و طوبي زپي سايه مكش — كه چو خوش بنگري اي سرو روان اينهمه نيست
دولت آنست كه بيخون دل آيد بكنار — ور نه با سعي عمل باغ جنان اينهمه نيست
پنجروزي كه در ين مرحله مهلت داري — خوش بياساي زماني كه زمان اينهمه نيست
برلب بحر فنا منتظرم اي ساقي — فرصتي دان كه ز لب تا بدهان اينهمه نيست
زاهد ايمن مشو از بازي غيرت زنهار — كه ره صومعه تا دير مغان اينهمه نيست
درد مندي چو من سوخته زار و نزار — ظاهرا حاجت تقرير و بيان اينهمه نيست
از تهتك مكن انديشه و چوگل خوشباش — زانكه تمكين جهان گذران اينهمه نيست
نام حافظ رقم نيك پذيرفت ولي — پيش رندان رقم سود و زيان اينهمه نيست

"The enjoyments of life are vain; bring wine, for the trappings of the world are perishable.

"I long, with my whole heart, for the benefits of the society of my love: this is every thing; every thing else is nugatory.

"Do not strive to enjoy the shade of the Tooba or the Sudru;* for if you reflect well, my waving cypress, this is but a story. I call that prosperity which comes of its own accord; for the garden of Heaven is tasteless, if purchased by painful labour.

"Pass your five days of existence in pleasure, for time is fleeting.

"I am standing, O cup-bearer! on the brink of the ocean of annihilation: seize the opportunity; for the wine, raised to the lip, may not even reach the throat.

"Do not exult, O zealot! at the trespasses of others; for the road to the chapel, and the temple of the Peeri Mogan is the same.†

"Why should I complain of my misfortunes, are they not known?

"Do not be vexed with the *spleen;* be gay as the rose, for the glories of life will fade.

"The name of Hafiz is established; but the wanton are careless as to good or evil."

* Two trees in heaven mentioned in the Koran.

† My interpretation of this couplet may be objected to, nor am I satisfied with it myself. *Ghyrut*, I conceive, signifies the self-complacency we feel on beholding any one inferior to ourselves. Richardson's Dictionary seldom gives more than the common meanings.

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بیا که قصر امل سخت سست بنیاد است بیار باده که بنیاد عمر بر باد است
غلام همت آنم که زیر چرخ لهبود ز هرچه رنگ تعلق پذیرد ازاد است
نصیحتي کنمت یاد گیر و در عمل آر که این حدیث ز پیر طریقتم یاد است
مجو درستي عهد از جهان سست نهاد که این عجوزه عروس هزار داماد است
چه گویمت که بمیخانه مست و خراب سروش عالم غیبم چه مژده‌ها داد است
که بلند نظر شاهباز سدره نشین نشیمن تو نه این کنج محنت آباد است
ترا ز کنگره عرش میزنند صفیر ندانمت که درین دامگه چه افتاد است
غم جهان مخور و پند من مبر از یاد که این نصیحت نغزم ز رهروي یاد است
رضا بداده بده و ز جبین گره بکشا که بر من و تو در اختیار نکشاد است
نشان عهد وفا نیست در تبسم گل بنال بلبل مسکین که جاي فریاد است
حسد چه میبري اي سست نظم بر حافظ قبول خاطر و لطف سخن خدا داد است

"Come, for the house of hope is raised upon a weak foundation; bring wine, for the foundation of life resteth upon the winds!

"I am the slave of his opinion; who is independent of all things under the azure canopy of heaven?

"Hear my advice, and reduce it to practice; for I learnt it from my instructor in the ways of life.

"Do not expect any faith from the fragile world, for this hag is the wife of a thousand gallants!

"Shall I tell you the advice which I heard last night from an invisible voice, when I was drunk, and fallen at the tavern?

"O, soaring bird! who resteth upon the Sudru, thy station is not this confined place of sorrow.

"Thy voice reacheth the very summit of heaven. I cannot account for your having fallen into this bondage.

"Do not be vexed at the world, and remember my advice; for I heard this pure precept from one who had travelled the paths of life.

"*Devote yourself to contentment, and smooth your wrinkled brow; for the door of choice is barred against us.*

"The marks of permanency, or of faith, are not to be discovered

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in the smiles of the rose. Lament, O nightingale! for it is a subject for complaint.

"O ye unmelodious! why do you find fault with Hafiz? the sweetness of his admired verse is a gift of God."

شراب وعیش نهان چیست کار بنیاد — زدیم بر صف رندان وهرچه بادا باد
گره زدل بکشا و زسپهر یاد مکن — که فکر هیچ فهدس چنین گره نکشاد
زانقلاب زمانه عجب مدار که چرخ — کزین فسانه وافسون هزار دارد یاد
قدح بشرط ادب گیر زانکه ترکیبش — زکاسر سر جمشید و بهمن است وقباد
که آگهست که کاوس کي کجا رفتند — که واقف است که چون رفت جام
ز حسرت لب شیرین هنوز مي بینم — که لاله میدمد از خاک تربت فرهاد
مگر که لاله بدانست بي وفاي دهر — که تا بزاد و بشد جام مي زکف ننهاد
بیا بیا که زماني زمي خراب شویم — مگر نسیم بکنجي در ین خراب آباد
نمیدهند اجازت مرا به سیر وسفر — نسیم خاک مصلي و آب رکناباد
رسید در غم عشقش بحافظ آنچه رسید — که چشم زخم حوادث بعاشقان مرساد

"Wine and pleasure were wanting, what folly is this! I brought them to the table of the wanton, of the consequence I care not.

"Burst your fetters, and do not think of heaven; for the science of the astronomer will not solve the problem.

"Do not be astonished at the reverses of fortune; for she is acquainted with a thousand such changes.

"Receive the bowl with respect, for it is composed of the dust of Jumshyd, of Buhmun, and Kobad.

"Who knows where Kaoos the Kyanian is gone? Who knows what has become of the goblet of Jam.*

"But I see, in emulation of the lips of Sheereen, that the tulips bloom fresh upon the grave of Furhad.

"The tulip is acquainted with the faithlessness of the world; for, from the time that it blows till it dies, it holds the cup in its hand.

* Persian kings before the time of Mahomet.

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"Come, come, let us drink wine; perhaps we may arrive this way at the end of our desire.

"The morning breeze of Mooselay, and the waters of Roknabad, will not permit me to travel.*

"Whatever Hafiz has suffered is past; but free, I pray, other lovers from such dreadful calamities."

رسید مژده که ایام غم نخواهد ماند — چنان نمانه و چنین نیزهم نخواهد ماند
من ارچه در نظر یار خاک سار شدم — رقیب نیز چنین محترم نخواهد ماند
غنیمتي شمراي شمع وصل پروانه — که این معامله تا صبحدم نخواهد ماند
سردش عالم غیبم بشارتي درداد — که کس همیته گرفتار غم نخواهد ماند
چو پرده دار به شمشیر میزند همه را — کسي مقیم حریم حرم نخواهد ماند
چه جاي شکر و شکایت ز نقش یک و بدست — چو بر صحیفه هستي رقم نخواهد مانه
سرود مجلس جمشید گفته اند این بود — جام باده بیا در که جم نخواهد ماند
تونکرا دل درولش خود بدست — که مخزن زر گنج و درم نخواهد ماند
برین رواق زبرجد نوشته اند بزر — که جز نکوي اهل کرم نه خواهد ماند
ز مهرباني جانان طمع مبر حافظ — که نقش جور نشاني ستم نخواهد ماند

"The glad tidings have come, that grief will not stay with us. Joy fled, nor will this continue.

"Although I am, in the estimation of my beloved, humble as the dust, my rivals will not continue long so proud.

"Rejoice, O taper! in the society of the moth; for this intercourse will not last till the morning.

"I heard these glad accents from the invisible world, that no one will continue enslaved by grief.

"If the guard destroy those whom he should protect, who will remain in the house?

"Why should we rejoice or complain at good or evil, since neither will remain upon the page of existence.

* This was the admirable ode which he sent to the King of Golconda, when he excused himself from paying his promised visit.

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"They say that this was the song at the banquet of Jumshyd, Bring the goblet of wine, since Jum will not continue.*

"O ye rich! compassionate those whom you afflict; for your treasures of gold and silver will perish.

"It was written in golden characters, upon a tablet of chrysolite,† Nothing but the deeds of the virtuous will be lasting.

"Do not despair, O Hafiz! of the friendship of the lovely; for the marks of anger, or the signs of scorn, cannot last for ever."

بدور لاله قدح گير و بي ريا مي باش — به بوي گل نفسي همدم صبا مي باش
نگويمت كه همه سال مي پرستي كن — سه ماه ميخور و نماه پارسا مي باش
گرت هواست كه چون جم بسر غيب رسي — مدام هدام جام جهان نما مي باش
چو پير سالك عشقت بمي حواله كند — بنوش و منتظر رحمت خدا مي باش
چو غنچه گرچه فرو نشستگيست كار جهان — تو همچه باد بهاري گره كشا مي باش
وفا مجوي زكس ور سخن نمي شنوي — بهرزه طالب سيمرغ و كيميا مي باش
مريد طاعت بيگانگان مشو حافظ — ولي معاشر رندان آشنا مي باش

"Take a bowl, like the opening tulip, and leave off your hypocrisy; like the fragrance of the rose, court the morning breeze.

"I do not desire you to drink all the year; drink three months, and be austere the remainder.

"If, like Jum, you wish to penetrate concealed mysteries, continue for ever in the society of the inspiring glass.

"When the teacher of love shall resign you to the bowl, drink, and expect forgiveness from heaven.

"If, like the rose-bud, your worldly hopes have fallen to the ground, be frank and pleasant as the morning breeze of spring.

"Do not expect faith from any one; if you do, deceive yourself in searching for the Seemorgh‡ and the philosopher's stone.

* This couplet has, I believe, been translated by Sir William Jones. I have not, however, been able to find it in his works.

† This verse has occupied the attention of the commentators, which it would be useless to notice.

‡ The Seemorgh is called by Sir William Jones a griffin.

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"Do not rely, O Hafiz! upon strangers; but continue to enjoy the society of the wanton."

دمي با غم بسر بردن جهان يكسر نمي ارزد | بمي بفروش دلق ما كزين بهتر نمي ارزد
بگوي ميفروشانش بجامي بر نمي گيرند | زهي سجاده تقوي يك ساغر نمي ارزد
رقيبم سرزنش‌ها كرد كز اين باب رخ برتاب | چه افتاد اين سرمارا كه خاك در نمي ارزد
ترا ان به كه روي خود زمشتاقان بپوشاني | كه شادي جهانگيري غم لشكر نمي ارزد
شكوه تاج سلطاني كه بيم جان در و درجست | كلاه سركش است اما به توك سر نمي ارزد
بشو اين نقش دلتنگي كه در بازار يكرنگي | مرقع هاي گوناگون مي احمر نمي ارزد
برو كنج قناعت جو و كنج عافيت نشين | كه يلدم در الم بودن به بحر و بر نمي ارزد
بس اسان مي نمود اول غم دريا ببوي | غلط كردم كه يك موجش بصد گوهر نمي ارزد
چو حافظ در قناعت كوش وزدنياي دون بگذر | كه يك جو منت دو نان بصد من زر نمي ارزد

"The enjoyment of the whole world is not worth a moment's pain. Sell my holy vest for wine, it is fit for nothing else.

"But it will not purchase, in the street of the sellers of wine, a single glass: it is strange that the vest of piety should not be worth a bowl of wine.

"My enemy desired me to depart from these gates? what has befallen me that I am thus reduced?

"It is better that you should conceal your face from your lovers; for the pleasure of the dominion of the universe, is not worth the anxieties of commanding an army.*

"The splendour of the royal crown, on which our life depends, is captivating; but it is not worth the risk of our lives.

"Cleanse your hearts; for the most remarkable beauties are not worth a glass of wine.

"Depart, and search for the riches of contentment; seat yourself in the corner of safety; for the riches of the sea or the earth are overbalanced by a moment's trouble.

* Non enim gazæ neque consularis
Summovet lictor miseros tumultus
Mentis, et curas laqueata circum.
Tecta volantes. Lib. ii. 16.

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"The danger of the sea appears trifling at first to those who search for pearls: I am wrong, for a hundred pearls do not equal one of its waves.

"Strive, like Hafiz, in the road of contentment, and think lightly of the world; for the necessity of courting the unworthy, for the smallest favour, cannot be recompensed by a hundred maunds of gold."

There are surely no traits of a base or abject spirit in these odes; they are neither obscured by affected witticisms, nor degraded by a want of just or dignified sentiments. I shall now present the reader with a few of the lighter odes of Hafiz; he will then be enabled to appreciate the character of this excellent poet.

بعزم توبه سحر گفتم استخاره کنم — بهار توبه شکن میرسد چه چاره کنم
سخن درست بگویم نمیتوانم دید — که مي خورند حریفان و من نظاره کنم
بدور باده دماغ مرا علاج کنید — که ازمیانه بزم طرب کناره کنم
زروي دوست مرا چون گل مراد شگفت — بحواله سردشمن بسنگ جاره کنم
بتخت گل بنشانم بتي چو سلطاني — زسنبل وسمنش باز طوق و یاره کنم
مرا که نیست ره و رسم لقمه پرهیزي — چرا مذمت رند شراب خواره کنم
گداي میکده‌ام لیک وقت مستي بین — که ناز بر فلک و حکم بر ستاره کنم
چو غنچه با لب خندان بیاد مجلس شاه — پیاله گیرم و از شوق جامه پاره کنم
نه قاضیم نه مشایخ نه محتسب نه فقیه — مرا چه کار که منع شراب خواره کنم
اگر ز لعل لب یار بوسه چینم — جوان شوم ز سر و زندگي دوباره کنم
ز باده خوردن پنهان ملول شد حافظ — ببانگ بربط و نی رازش اشکاره کنم

"I determined this morning, with an intention of repenting, to consult an omen; but what can I do? It was, The spring the breaker of vows returned.

"But, should I tell the truth, I cannot see the necessity of allowing my rivals to drink, while I look on.

"Restore me, by circulating the cup, that I may depart from this convivial meeting.

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"My hopes opened, like the rose, when I beheld the countenance of my beloved; I devote the heads of my rivals to perish by the flinty stone.

"I will seat my love, like a queen, on a bed of roses; I will make her a garland of the hyacinth, and her bracelets shall be of jessamine.

"I have not been educated in the road, or in the rites of prejudice;* why should I abuse the drunkard or the wanton?

"Elated, like the blossoming rose, I call to my mind the banquet of the king; I seize the bowl, and, from excess of joy, tear open my vest.†

"I am neither a judge, nor a priest, nor a censor, nor a lawyer: Why should I forbid the use of wine?

"Should I chance to get a kiss from the lips of my love, I should immediately become young, and live another age.

"Hafiz is abused for drinking wine in private; for the future he will drink it to the notes of the harp and the flute."

گلبرگ را زسنبل مشکین نقاب کن — یعني که رخ بپوش وجهاني خواب کن
بکشا به شیوه نرگس پرخواب مست را — وزرشک چشم نرگس رعنا بخواب کن
بیفشان عرق زچهره واطراف باغرا — چون شیشه هاي دیده ما پرگلاب کن
بوي بنفشه بشنو وزلب نکارگیر — بنگر برنگ لاله وعزم شراب کن
همچون حباب دیده بروي قدح کشا — وین جانه را خراب قیاس از حباب کن
انجا که رسم وعادت عاشق کشی زتست — با دشمنان قده کش وبا ما عتاب کن
حافظ وصال میطلبد از رزره دعا — یا رب دعاء خسته دلان مستجاب کن

"Conceal the vernal rose-bud with the dark hyacinth; yes, veil thy face, and destroy the world.

"Open, like the narcissus, thy sleepy eyes,‡ and let the upright narcissus droop from envy of thee.

* *Lugmupurkezee*, an epithet which expresses prejudice in much stronger language than I can give it.

† This alludes to Hafiz being present at one of the prince's banquets.

‡ The *Chushmi poor khawb*, *beemar*, or *Khoomar*, express the same image.

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" Throw off the pearly drops from thy countenance, and, like my glistening eyes, make the garden weep.

" Open thy *round* eyes, and look towards the bowl; let the bubble put you in mind of the world's continuance.

" If you determine to destroy your lover, drink with my rivals and be angry with me.

" Hafiz prays for a meeting; listen, O God! to the prayers of the unhappy."

عيد است موسم گل ساقي بيار باده — هنگام گل كه ديده است بي مي قدح نهاده
زين رهد و پارسائي بگرفت خاطر من — ساقي بده شرابي تا دل شود كشاده
صوفي دي نصيحت ميكرد عاشقانرا — امروز ديدمش مست تقوي ببباد داده
اين يكدو روز ديگر گل را غنمي دان — بي بانگ رود چنگي بي يار و جام باده
گل رفت اي حريفان غافل چرا نشينيد — گر عاشقي طرب كن با ساقيان ساده
در مجلس صوجي دائي چه خرش نمايد — عكس عذار ساقي درجام في فتاده
مطرب چه پرده سازد شايد اگر نخواند — از طرز شعر حافظ در بزم شاهزاده

" It is the feast, and the season of the roses; bring wine, O cup bearer! Who has seen the season of the rose ushered in without wine?

" My heart is burthened with qualms and pious fears; give me wine, O cup-bearer! that I may cleanse my heart.

" I saw the Soofee, who gave advice last night to the riotous, drunk, and his virtue given to the winds.

" Value the few remaining days of the rose: The harp is tuneless without the voice, and the wine is nought without my love!

" The roses fade; O, my friends! why do you sit inattentive? be joyful in the society of the youthful cup-bearer.

" Do you know how beautiful, at the banquet of the wanton, appear the cheeks of the cup-bearer reflected from the rosy wine?

" What song can the minstrel sing at the banquet of the prince, if he singeth not the verses of Hafiz?

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I might add greatly to these odes; but if they do not prove sufficient to answer my intention, a larger number would only make the reader more inveterate against the poetry of Hafiz. There is another description of odes, which can only be received in a mystical sense; any attempt to make them figurative, would be destroying the design and the spirit of the poet. I shall notice these odes in the following chapter.

I have no wish to live upon the "excrements of authors," and shall not, therefore, produce above one instance of the puerile conceits which our poet but rarely falls into. In this respect he is greatly superior to Sadee, or any other Persian poet; for his sublime genius would not be arrested to examine the merits of a pun, or the exactitude of a comparison with the letters ا or ن.* The following ode cannot be translated to do justice to the thought of the poet; it is a play upon the words *Haroot* and *Maroot*, the names of two angels who severely censured mankind before the throne of God, and who were sent down to earth in human shapes, to judge of the temptations to which man was subject. They could not withstand them; they were seduced by women, and were guilty of every species of iniquity; for which they were suspended in a well at Babylon, where they are to continue to the day of judgment.† These words, analysed, will signify we, I, or me (*ma*), (*roo*) face, and (*t*) thine, thee; *ha* is the plural sign, (*roo*) face, and (*t*) thine, thee. The whole merit, therefore, of the ode‡ is, in using these words in either sense:

لطف باشد گر به پوشي از گد هاروت‌را — تا بكام دل به بيند ديده، ماروت‌را
همچو هاروتيم دايم در بلاي عشق زار — كاشكي هرگز ندیدي ديده، ماروت‌را
كي شدي هاروت در چاه زنخدانت اسير — تا نگفتي شمه، از حسن او ماروت‌را

* Hafiz is not entirely free, but his verses are chaster than any other poets.

† See Richardson's Dictionary, verb هروت

‡ This ode is not in the Calcutta edition, which is very imperfect.

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بوي گل بر خواست گوئي درچمن هاروت بود بلبلان مستند گويا ديده بر ماروت را
مي کشم جور و جفايت ز هجران اي روي بنما تا به بيند ديده ماروت را

I may paraphrase the couplet, which procured the interment of Hafiz, against his more illiterate critics.

قدم دريغ مدار از جنازه حافظ اگرچه غرق گناهست ميرود به بهشت

" Do not be alarmed for the fame of Hafiz; for, notwithstanding his faults, he will still be admired."

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CHAPTER V.

Mystic Poetry.

THIS subject claims our attention, not only on account of its having been little noticed, but also as our knowledge on this head is what can alone enable us to judge of the merits or beauties of Persian poetry. The Persians insist, and we should give them the merit of understanding their own language, that all the odes of their celebrated poets are mystical, and breathing a fervent spirit of adoration for the Supreme Being. They maintain, that the Soofees "*profess eager desire with no carnal affection, and circulate* "*the cup, but no material goblet, since all things are spiritual in their* "*sect, all is mystery within mystery.*" It is difficult, however, to reconcile this strange language with the apparent meaning of a number of their verses.

روزي كه چرخ از گل ما كوزه كند — زنهار كاسه سرما پر شراب كن
ما مرد زهد و توبه وطامات نيستم — باما چوجام از دل صافي خطاب كن
كار صواب باده پرستي است حافظا — برخيز و روي عزم بكار صواب كن

"When fortune shall have made a goblet of my clay,

"See that my head be filled with wine; I profess not piety, neither do I preach repentance, nor prevaricate.

"Address me with frankness and sincerity.

"It is a meritorious act, O Hafiz! to worship the glass.

"Arise and direct thy attention to virtuous deeds!"

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Yet however difficult, or however impossible it may be to reconcile this quotation to a mystical allusion, we are not to suppose that the verses of Hafiz are not often metaphorical.

صوفي از پرتو مي راز نهاني دانست　　گوهر هرکس ازين لعل تواني دانست
شرح مجموعه گل مرغ سحر داندو بس　　که نه هرکو ورقي خواند معاني دانست
عرضه کردم دو جهان بردل کارافتاده　　بجز از عشق تو باقي همه فاني دانست

" The Soofee, by the inspiration of wine, discovers hidden mysteries.

" This ruby liquor discloses the virtue of every one.

" The bird of morn alone knows the qualities of every plant.

" It is not all who contemplate the page of nature that penetrate its meaning.

" I have exhibited every thing of either world to a disinterested heart.

" It considered all as nought but a love of thee!"

Neither Hafiz nor Sadee have expressed themselves with the precision of Jamee, or a number of other Soofee poets.

The religion of the Soofees, as far as I have been able to comprehend it, appears to be a compound of the philosophy of Plato and Berkley. They conceive, that the light or spirit of God illuminates all things, and which *being reflected on us is the cause of our perceptions.* In exemplification of this doctrine, they compare all visible objects to different sorts of grain strewed on the floor of a dark room; the light of a candle shining on the grain enables us to discriminate its different kinds, and this they compare to the light of God, which, operating on all things, and reflected from all things, enables us to discriminate them and divide them into classes. Persuaded of these truths, they behold all things with sympathy, as

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sharing, in common with themselves, in the bounties of the essential one.*

But although the belief of the Soofee is implicit, and his fervour ardent, he does not hesitate declaring, that the paths of mystery are full of difficulties, requiring a constant exertion of patience, and continued perseverance. Hafiz commences his first ode by assuring us, that love of the Almighty appears to be easy, but in the end proves difficult; and somewhere else says, do not listen to the tale of love, for it is full of difficulties. They appear to delight in dropping loose and imperfect hints of their curious system of religion, without ever satisfying the curiosity they excite; at the same time they explicitly declare, that they enjoy a freer intercourse with the Almighty than is allowed to less pious or enthusiastic mortals. They would perfectly agree with Plato in the following observation: "For a thing of this kind cannot be expressed by words like other disciplines, but by lasting familiarity and conjunction of life with this divine object, a bright light on a sudden, as it were leaping out of a fire, will illuminate the soul, and then preserve and nourish its splendour."† Or with Socrates: "There is but one eternal, immutable, uniform beauty; in contemplation of which, our sovereign happiness does consist: and therefore a true lover considers beauty and proportion as so many steps and degrees from which he may ascend from the particular to the general, from all that is lovely in feature, or regular in proportion, or charming in sound, to the general fountain of all perfection. And if you are so much transported with the sight of beautiful persons, as to wish neither to drink, but to pass your whole life in their conversation, to what extacy would it raise you to behold the original beauty, not

* Be riqqut nu deedum hech shy ra. I beheld every thing with sympathy. Hafiz. See Proclus, clx. See Appendix, No. 4.

† See Taylor's Proclus, Dif. p. 26; also Avicenna, p. 26. Sale's Prelim. Dis. p. 235. Al Ghazali.

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filled up with flesh and blood, or varnished with a fading mixture of colours, and the rest of mortal trifles and fooleries, but separate, unmixed, uniform, and divine." (Dryden's Life of Virgil.) Hafiz openly professed to have received divine illumination, and commemorated the event in the following ode:

دوش وقت سحر از غصه نجاتم دادند — و اندران ظلمت شب آب حیاتم دادند
بیخود از شعشعه پرتو ذاتم کردند — باده از نور تجلي صفا تم دادند
چه مبارك سحري بود چه فرخنده شبي — ان شب قدر که این تازه برا تم دادند
چو من از عشق رخش بیخود و حیران گشتم — خبر از واقعه لات ومناتم دادند
من اگر کامرو اگشتم و خوشدل چه عجب — مستحق بودم و اینها برکاتم دادند
بعد ازین روي من و ایینه چهره یار — که درانجا جبر از جلوه ذاتم دادند
اینهمه شهد وشکر کز دهنم میریزد — اجر صبریست کزان شاخ نباتم دادند
شکرشکر بشکرانه بیفشان اي دل — که نگار خوش و شیرین حرکاتم دادند
کیمیاییست عجب بندگي پیرمغان — خاکا وگشتم وچندین در جاتم دادند
بحیات ابد انروز رسانید مرا — خط ازادگي از حسن مماتم دادند
عاشق اندم که بدام سرزلف توفتاد — گفت کزبند غم وغصه بجاتم دادند
همت حافظ و انفاس سحر خیزان بود — که زبند غم ایام بجاتم دادند

"Towards the morn I was liberated from all my afflictions:
"And amidst the obscurity of the night, I drank of the water of immortality.
"I was confounded by the glorious ray of mightiness;
"And I partook of the virtues of divine illumination.
"How propitious was the morn! How heavenly was the night!
"The well known night which brought me this divine gift.
"When I became confounded and intoxicated with love,
"I became acquainted with the histories of Munat and Ullat.*
"If I have prospered, and am rejoiced, is it strange?
"I was found to be deserving, and thus have I been rewarded.

* Two images in the Kaba at Mecca. See Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 23, Koran, chap. iv. p. 117.

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" After this I shall contemplate the mirror-like countenance of my beloved.

" For I have received a knowledge of the glory of his attributes.

" The invisible messenger told me, that my good fortune

" Was a reward for my patience and resignation under calamity and affliction.

" The sweetness which flows from my grateful pen,

" Is a recompense for my deserting Shakh Nubat.

" How advantageous is the service of the Peeri Moghan;

" I humbled myself, and thus have I been elevated!

" I have been presented with immortal life;

" I have been redeemed by a virtuous death.

" I became a lover the instant I was entangled amidst thy ringlets.

" But I was released from affliction and pain.

" It was the fortune of Hafiz, and the merits of the religious,

" Which freed him from the calamities of the times."

It is necessary to mention, that Hafiz had for a long time been in love with the courtezan Shakh Nubat, and had at length amassed a sufficient sum to purchase a return. It had been his custom on every Thursday night (Shubi Jocma) to burn a certain number of lamps on the Baba Kohee, a hill near Sheeraz, and to remain watching and praying there until the morning. This was the night appointed for their meeting, and the enraptured Hafiz did not recollect the circumstance until he had been some time in the company of his mistress; but the moment he discovered it, he tore himself from her encircling arms, and readily resigned a blessing, which more than a year's excessive parsimony had purchased.*

* Sir William Jones relates the same story very differently, Vol. i. p. 458. I have never heard it in another way than as it is now related.

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But however mystical a number of these verses may be, others are certainly applied to worldly matters and worldly enjoyments.

The following couplet marks, in the most precise manner, that although Hafiz might please his imagination with the hope of spiritual pleasure, he was by no means insensible to the gratification of his present state of transitory existence.

فردا شراب کوشرو حور از براي ماست و امروز نيزساقي مه روي و جام مي

"I am promised, at the day of resurrection, the water of Kousur and a Hooric; and now I enjoy a bowl of wine and a lovely mistress."

Again.

شراب تلخ مي خواهم که مردافکن بود زورش که تا يکدم ترا سايم زدنياوشرو شورش

"Give me wine! wine that shall subdue the strongest; that I may for a time forget the cares and troubles of the world."*

I shall confine myself to the notice of a few verses, which I think will admit only of a literal translation; at the same time we may remark, that the bigotry of an Asiatic commentator would induce him to prefer an allegorical allusion.

عيب رندان مکن اي زاهد پا کيزه سرشت که گناه دگران بر تو نخواهند نوشب
من اگر نيکم وربد تو برو خودرا باش هرکسي ان درود عاقبت کارکه کشت

"Do not calumniate, O pious zealot! people who delight in mirth; for you will not answer for the sins of others.

"Whether I be good or bad, do you attend to yourself; for in the end every one will reap what he has sown:"

In the following couplet he forgets that he is a Moosulman:

چون طهارت نبود کعبه و بتخانه يکيست نبود جبردران خانه که عضدت نبود

* Johnson called brandy, "drink for heroes." Hafiz distinguishes his liquor by an uncommon epithet, "the leveller of men!"

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"If it were not for a few forms, the Kaba and the idolaters house would be the same.

"There can be no sanctity in a house free from virtue."

Again,

ترسم که صرفه نبرد روز بازخواست نان حلال شیخ زاب حرام ماست

"I fear, that in the day of universal justice, the holy bread of the Seikh will not prove superior to my ungodly liquor."

A thousand verses might be produced to demonstrate that many of the poems of Hafiz are free from all kind of Soofee mystery; I shall, however, content myself with but one more quotation:

واعظان کین جلوه بر محراب ومنبر میکنند چون بخلوت میروند آن کار دیگر میکنند
مشکلی دارم زدانشمند مجلس ما بپرس توبه فرمایان چرا خود توبه کمتر میکنند
گو بیا باور نمیدارند روز داوری کین همه قلب ودغل در کار داور میکنند

"The priests who appear so devout before the altar, and in the pulpit, behave far otherwise in private.

"I have a difficulty, which I shall state to the wise men of the assembly.

"Why do not the preachers of repentance repent themselves?

"Perhaps they have no faith in a day of retribution, since their holy offices are so full of fraud and deceit."

It has been maintained by some, that all Persian verses are metaphorical, whilst others have declared, that they will only admit of literal interpretation.* Both these systems lead to error; and

* One of the thesis, at a late disputation at the College of Fort William, was "Whether the odes of Hafiz are to be considered in a figurative or mystical sense." I have not seen the arguments used upon either side of this question; but it appears to me, from an attentive perusal of his odes, that they must be considered in both senses, and that any attempt to confine his meaning to either of these propositions, would be making the poetry of Hafiz "confusion worse confounded."

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although it may be difficult to prescribe bounds to *mystery*, a slight attention to the poetry of the Persians must persuade us, that many of the verses of their sublimest poets are allegorical, and are full of mysterious allusions to the supreme creator.

Jamee, who was a Soofee of the first order, and more scientific and learned than either Hafiz or Sadee, has expressed himself with a precision it is impossible for us to mistake.

چیست میدانی صدای چنگ و عود — انت حسبی انت کافی یا ودود
نیست در افسردگان ذوق سماع — ورنه عالم را گرفته است این سرود
آه ازین مطرب که از یک نغمه اش — آمده در رقص ذرات وجود
جان زاهد ساجل وهم وخیال — جان عارف غرقه بحر شهود
هست بی صورت جناب قدس و عشق — نیکدر هر صورتی خودرا نمود
در لباس حسن لیلی جلوه کرد — صبر و آرام از دل مجنون ربود
پیش روی خود زعذرا پرده بست — صد درغم بر رخ وامق کشود
در حقیقت خود بخود می باخت عشق — وامق ومجنون بجز نامی نبود
عکس ساقی دید جامی فتاد — چون صراحی پیش جام اندر سجود

"Know ye the notes of the lute and harp?
"Thou art sufficient! Thou art enough!
"The dejected have not a sense of hearing,
"Or the whole universe would re-echo these strains.
"Alas! what a songster; one of whose notes
"Puts every created atom into extasy.
"The life of the zealot approacheth but the edge of conjecture and fancy,
"Whilst the life of the Arif is as a river abounding in truth.*
"The almighty majesty of love has no form: it shines in the garments of Lylee, and deprives Mujnoon of peace and rest.
"There was nothing between thee but the veil of Oozra.

* Arif is derived from the Arabic word Oorf. It signifies here, a follower of Soofeeism.

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" A thousand afflictions flowed on the unhappy Wamiq.*

" Truly you sported with love; Wamiq and Mujnoon were but names.

" Jamee saw the light of the cup-bearer, and bowed to it,

" As the glass is inclined towards the goblet."

The poet Jamee tells us that he addresses the Almighty by no particular name; for that every thing in the universe declares his existence.

گه باده وگاه جام خوانیم ترا گه دانه وگاه دام خوانیم ترا
جز نام تو بر کوچ جهان حرفي نیست ایا بکدام نام خوانیم ترا

" Sometimes the wine, sometimes the cup I call thee! Sometimes the lure, sometimes the net I call thee!

" Excepting thy name, there is not another letter in the tablet of the universe!

" Say by what appellation shall I call thee?"

The following ode is evidently addressed to the supreme Creator, and will admit of no other explanation:

دل سرا پردهٔ محبت اوست دیدهٔ آینه دار طلعت اوست
من که سر در نیاورم بدو کون گردنم زیر بار منت اوست
تو وطوبي وما وقامت یار فکر هرکس به قدر همت اوست
دور مجنون گزشت و نوبت ماست هر کرپنج روز نوبت اوست
من که باشم در ان حرم که صبا پردهٔ دار حریم حرمت اوست
ملکت عاشقي و کنج طرب هرچه دارم زیمن همت اوست
من و دل کز فنا شدیم چباک غرض اندرمیان سلامت اوست
بي خیالش مباد منظر چشم زانکه این گوشه خاص خلوت اوست
گرمن آلوده دامنم چه عجب همه عالم گواه عصمت اوست

* A celebrated lover. The Soofees suppose, that it is an anxious desire of the soul for union, that is the cause of love; thus they compare the soul to a bird confined in a cage, panting for liberty, and pining at its separation from the divine essence.

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هرگل نو که شد جهان آرای اثری رنگ و بوی صحبت اوست
فقر ظاهر مبین که حافظرا سینه گنجینه محبت اوست

" My heart is constantly filled with his love, my eyes reflect his image.

" I will not humble myself for either world; but I bend myself to the load of his favours.

" You and the tree of Tooba! I and the grace of my love! Let the thoughts of every one be regulated by his ambition.

" Mujnoon is gone, and my period is come; we have all five days allotted to us.

" What can I hope for in a place where the winds guard the sanctuary of his honour?

" The riches of love and the means of pleasure; whatever I enjoy is derived from his favour.

" Of what account is it, even should I perish? I care only for his safety.

" Let the eyes constantly contemplate his image, for they are his immediate instruments.

" If my garments be defiled, what is the wonder? the universe is an evidence of his purity.

" The Houries which adorn the world, derive their colour and fragrance from his society.

" Do not judge from ostensible poverty? for the breast of Hafiz is replete with the riches of love!"

The Musnuwee of the celebrated Mooluwee i Room, is entirely on mystic love; but mystical poetry, like poetical metaphysics, is apt to make an author write abstruse nonsense; and, as the fervour of his imagination is usually greater than the soundness of his judgment, his compositions are frequently absurd or unintelligible. Neeamut Oollah is a striking example of this observation;

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the melody of his verses is no compensation for the absurdity of his thoughts.

منم مجنون منم ليلي نمي گويي چه ميگويم مگر گم کرده‌ام خودرا باز مي‌جويم

"I am Mujnoon, I am Lylee; why do you not demand an explanation? but I have lost myself, and again search for myself."

Nor is he singular in holding this strange language; many instances might be produced out of the works of Sadee, Hafiz, Jamee, and the principal Soofee writers. Before I conclude this chapter, I shall take notice of two couplets of the philosopher Abool Ghys, who declares, in the most explicit language, that his verses are spiritual, and that his wine is not of the grape, but of divine love:

تفسير اين غزل همه علم است و معرفت در شرح تو بنوش تامل نکو کنند
صد لعنت خداي براب حرام باد برمستيش بهرنفسي صدتفرکنند

"This ode is upon love and divine knowledge;
"For an explanation repent and meditate.
"May a hundred curses fall upon the drink of intoxication; may a hundred evils befal its effects."*

I should hope that it has been clearly shewn, that many of the expressions in Persian poetry are merely the images of a curious system of philosophy, whilst others again are only applicable to earthly enjoyments and human propensities. Some discrimination is requisite in determining on the construction we are to put on many of the Ghuzls of Hafiz, Jamee, &c.; and until we can do this, our perception of the beauties or defects of Persian poetry will be imperfect and obscure. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject; I have little else to plead in extenuation of this fault than its novelty, and the silence of almost every former writer.

* Even this couplet may admit of an allegorical interpretation. The wine may signify evil deeds, and *drink repentance* may allude to the necessity of reflection, before we admit *the expositions* of *commentators* on the Koran.

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CHAPTER VI.

On the Ghuzl.

MUCH has been written on the Ghuzls of the Persians; but all the information we have received, is that an ode must consist of so many, and not exceed a certain number of couplets: some maintain eleven, others eighteen; but I leave this dispute to be determined by persons who attach importance to such entertaining disquisitions

The Ghuzl, which sometimes resembles an ode, at others a sonnet, has a variety of defects. It is the custom for every couplet, through an entire ode, to end with the same rhyme; and it is rarely that we meet with any image, however beautiful, dwelt on for more than one verse. This absurd custom must necessarily cramp the genius of the poet, and confine his imagination within very narrow limits. It were well if the evil rested here, it however extends much farther; and it is to an observance of these two customs that I attribute the tinselled and gaudy ornaments which disfigure some of the finest odes in the Persian language. The fancy of a poet, in consequence of this extreme conciseness, must be perpetually on the stretch; and his taste is soon vitiated, by his being compelled to adopt every image which may present itself to his imagination. Hence flows an inundation of puns, quibbles, and Asiatic metaphors. Nature is soon exhausted, but what can supply her place.*

* Sadee is one of the correctest Persian authors; yet the following verses are taken out of his Deewan:

اي ببالا چون صنوبراي برخ چون م وه زلف داري همچو عنبرلب چوش وك و ر

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In exemplification of these observations, I shall notice the same thoughts expressed by a Western and Persian author.

Deedum uz anja ki juhan beenee'st
Afuti zumboor zu shureenee'st.

"I discover, by a review of the world, that the afflictions of the bee proceed from its honey." Nizamee.*

"Know you not, master, to some kind of men,
Their graces serve them but as enemies?
No more do your's; your virtues, gentle master,
Are sanctified, and holy traitors to you.
Oh, what a world is this, when what is comely
Envenoms him that bears it!" As You Like It.

Buhar ust dur an kosh ki khoosh dil bashee,
Ki buse gool bidumud bazo too dur gil bashee.

"Enjoy the spring that you may be happy; for the roses will blow when you are no more." Hafiz.

Dughega ki pyi ma buse rozgar
Beroyud gool o bishegoofud nou buhar.

افتاب عاشقاني ماهتاب بيدلان — قبله ازاده گاني اي صنم باروخ
اي بگرد روخ جانا كشيده خ و ط — درد مندم مستمندم تن گرفته ت وپ
ت وپ آمد نگارا در تنم از عشق تو — داروي دردم تو داري درميان ل وب
ل وب برل وب بنهاده باشم تاسحر — م وي درپيش باشد بسته باشد د و ر
اي نگارا گرشبي مارا تومهماني كني — ميوه خواهم از لبانت ب ووس و ٥ ه
شاعران بسيار گفتند شعرهاي بانمك — كس نگفته شعر همچون س وع ود وي

Cowley gives the best translation of Sadee's wit :

"Here buds an L, and there a B.
"Here spouts a V. and there a T." &c.

* This is certainly the intended meaning, although Sir William Jones translates it otherwise.

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"Alas! for ages after me the roses will blow, and the spring will bloom." Sadee.

"Whence is it that the flourets of the field doth fade,
And lieth buried long in winter's shade?
Yet soon as spring his mantle hath displayed
It flowreth fresh, as if it should never fail,
But thing on earth, which is of most avail:
As virtues branch and beauties bud
Reliven not for any good." Spenser.

"Soles occidere et redive possunt,
Nobis, cum semel occidet brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda." Catullus.

"Man cometh forth as a flower, and is cut down. There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender branch thereof will not cease; but man dieth, and wasteth away; yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he? He lieth down, and he riseth not! the heavens be no more." Job.

Chooneen purwureedush ki badi huwa
Buro bur goozushtun nu deedee ruwa.

"He took such care of her, that he did not permit the winds to blow upon her bosom." Firdousee.

Nu hurgiz bursurum bade wuzeed
Nu dur pa hurgizum khare khuleed. James.

"So loving to my mother,
That he permitted not the winds of Heaven
To visit her face too roughly." Hamlet

Koonoon yad gar ust uz o maho mihr
Bu koshish bu runj ae munormaee chihr.

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" The sun and the moon put us in mind of it (death);
Do not shine to involve yourself in difficulties." Firdousee.

" Immortalia ne speres monet annus, et almum
Quæ rapit hora diem:
Frigora mitescunt Zephyris; ver proterit æstas
Interitura, simul
Pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit; et mox
Bruma recurret iners.
Damna tamen celeres reparant cœlestia Lunæ:
Nos ubi decidimus,
Quo pius Æneas, quo Tullus dives, et Ancus,
Pulvis et umbra sumus." Hor. Lib. iv. Ode 7.

Perhaps we may think the conciseness of the following couplet from Hafiz, superior to the same image worked up by Dr. Young:

Binusheen bulubi joo o goozri omr bibeen
W'een isharuti juhan goozran mara bus.

" Seat yourself near the margin of a stream, and see how life glides away; this intimation how life passes is enough for me."

" Life glides away, Lorenzo, like a brook;
For ever changing, unperceiv'd the change.
In the same brook none ever bathed him twice,
To the same life none ever twice awoke.
We call the brook the same, the same we think
Our life, though still more rapid in its flow;
Nor mark the much, irrevocably lapsed,
And mingled with the sea." Night 5.

Musnud bubagh bur ki bu khidmut choo bundegan
Istadu ust survo kumr bustuust ny.

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" Send seats to the garden, for the cypress and cane are standing like slaves to perform their duty." Hafiz.

" The plants acknowlege this, and her admire,
No less than those of old did Orpheus lyre;
If she sets down, with tops all towards her bowed,
They round about her into arbors croud;
Or, if she walk in even ranks, they stand
Like some well marshall'd and obsequious band." Waller.

Before we conclude our remarks on the Persian Ghuzl, it may not be improper to notice, that the same images used by European and Asiatic poets are very differently applied; and that what is thought solemn or disagreeable by one, is considered by the other as gay and delightful. Thus the cypress is considered by European authors as expressive of every thing that is solemn and gloomy.*

Suffolk, imprecating curses on his enemies, adds, amongst others:

" Poison be their drink!
Gall, worse than gall, the daintiest that they taste!
Their sweetest shade a grove of cypress trees!"

" Neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te, præter invisas cupressos,
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur. Hor. Lib. ii. 14.

In Persia, a beautiful woman is compared to this tree; and it is not spoken of by a single poet but in terms of the highest rapture.

* In a few it is the reverse:

Αως αν ελλοισα καλον διφαιτε προσωπον
Ποτνια νυξ ἀτε, λευκον χειμανος αειρτος·
Ὡ δε και ἀ χρυσεα Ἑλενα διφαιτεσ' ες ἡμιν
Πιερι, μεγαλη. ἀτ' ανιδηαμεν ογμος αρθρε
Η καπω κυπαρισσος, η αρμασι Θεσσαλος ἱππος.
Fraxinus in silvis cedat tibi, pinus in hortis. Virg. Ecl. 7th.
Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi. Ecl. 1st.

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This dissimilarity must occur between every language, and I should not have observed upon it, but to reprobate the violent prejudices of many persons, who judge of the merits of a language by the affinity it bears to their own. Hafiz has a thornless rose, as well as Milton, which would have convinced Dr. Hurd, that it was not only an Italian, but also an Asiatic refinement.*

It must have struck every Persian scholar, that, in the Ghuzls of the Persians, he meets with the same thoughts and metaphors in almost every ode; and that after he has perused twenty, he finds nothing new to admire, and little or any thing to learn. If, according to Dr. Johnson, and there is no reason to dispute his authority, a simile, "to be perfect, must both illustrate and ennoble the subject; must shew it to the understanding in a clearer point of view, and display it to the fancy with greater dignity." The Persian poets, in all their similes or comparisons, fall infinitely below mediocrity. There is no beauty in a poet's affirming, "that his mistress's form resembles the peacock's or the pheasant's; that her mouth resembles the pistacho nut; her waist so slender that it appears but a hair, or that at a distance it is invisible; that her perspiration is sweeter than rose-water; or that her dimples are like a well." Yet notwithstanding all these defects, if the end of poetry be to please, the Persian poets are eminently successful; nor will I believe that any person, who really understood Hafiz, ever put his book aside without having received much satisfaction from a perusal of his odes.

The Ghuzls of Hafiz, Moohtushim, and Ruqeeb, are considered to be superior to any other poets: and that I may not shew an unjust preference to their merits, I extract an ode from each of their works.

صبح دولت میدهد کو جام همچون افتاب فرصتي زین به کجا باشد بده جام شراب

* Chaucer also—"O rodie rosier without spine."

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خانه پي تشويش وساقي يارو مطرب بذله گو موسم عيش است ودور ساغر عهد شباب
شاهد وساقي بدست افشان ومطرب پاي كوب غمزه ساقي زچشم مي پرستان برده خواب
جاي امن ويارساقي وحريفان يكٌ جهت كرده چشم مست ساقي مي پرستانرا خراب
خلوت خاص است جاي امن و نزهتگاه انس اينكه مي بينم به بيداريست يارب يابخواب
از خيال لطف مي مشاطه چالاك طبع در ضمير برگ گل خوش ميكند پنهان گلاب
ازپي تفريح طبع وزيور حسن وطرب خوش بود تركيب زرين جام با لعل مذاب
تاشد انمه مشتري درهاي حافظ را بگوش ميرسد هردم بگوش زهرگلبانگ زباب

BY A FRIEND.

" See the morn of prosperity dawn,
Bring a glass that is sparkling and bright;
For Phœbus's rays have tinted the lawn,
Dispelling the clouds with their light.

" The cup-bearer is joyous and kind,
My mistress is willing to rove,
Coy Venus with joy is combin'd,
And this is the season for love.

" The songstress hath struck up her lyre,
The dancers are wishing to please;
My idol excites their desire,
And robs them of comfort and ease.

" The place then is safe and retired,
My rivals are, thank God! at rest;
Her glances the Saqee hath fired,
And fix'd Cupid's dart in his breast.

" The spot was protected with care,
Adapted to joy and delight;

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Ye Gods! do but answer my prayer,
Are dreams thus deceiving my sight?

"The maiden with blushes arose,
By the sempstress with ornament crown'd;
Her beauty o'erpower'd the rose,
It droop'd, and in water was drown'd.

"A bowl that's o'erflowing with joy,
Gives additional zest to the bower;
A maiden, though willing, yet coy,
Makes existence appear but an hour.

"Since the pearls of Hafiz you've bought,
And with them thy bosom adorn'd,
The gods for thy person have sought,
And Venus with envy hath mourn'd."

دیر انتظار تو بودم امیدوار امشب . نیامدي و مرا گشت انتظار امشب
کجایدي که بامید دیدنت تاروز دمي بهم نزدم چشم انتظار امشب .
بچشم و گیسو و زلفت قسم که پي تومرا نه خواب بود نه ارام نه قرار امشب
شنید هر که زمن هاي هاي گریه زار گریست برمن بیچاره زارزار امشب
لبم بلب نه وبامن شبي بروز اور که برلب امده جانم هزار بار امشب
چوشمع صحتشم ار مرود دلسوزي نکرد برسر بالین اوگذار امشب

"I have expected thee all night; you came not; and I die from expectation!

"Where wast thou? the hope of seeing thee allowed me not to close my weeping eyes.

"I swear by thy hair, thy eyes, and flowing ringlets, that I have neither enjoyed peace nor rest the whole night.

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" Whoever heard my plaints and moans, sympathized in my afflictions.

" Fasten thy lips on mine, and await the coming morn; for I have been on the verge of death a thousand times this night.

" As the taper, Mohtushim died away, and you came not to his pillow to alleviate his misery."

خوش ان محفل که هردم ساغر مي — وي از من گيرد ومن گيرم ازوي
نباشم شاد و خرم تا نباشد — بدستم ساغر و درساغرم مي
بيا نايي نوا سر کن دمادم — بيا ساقي قدح پرکن پياپي
چه خوش باشد مي گلگون کشيدن — ببانگ ارغنون و نغمه ني
مشو مغرور حسن گل که باشد — ببار نيکوپي‌را از عقب وي
برارم بي تو آه از سينه تا چند — ببارم بي تو اشک از ديده تا کي
رسد تا کي بگردون هاي هايش — رفيق خسته را دريابد هي هي

" How pleasant is that company where we are continually interchanging goblets of wine!

" I am never pleased or happy but when I have a goblet in my hand, and in that goblet wine.

" Strike up new strains, O harper! fill the bowl, O cup-bearer!

" How joyous is it to drink wine to the strains of the harp, and the notes of the lute!

" Be not vain of thy beauty, O tender flower! for the verdant spring is succeeded by December.*

" How long shall I mourn thy absence?

" How long will my tears continue to flow?

" When will my frequent sighs reach heaven; compassionate the anguish of the unfortunate Ruqeeb."

* " Ianthe! now, now love the spring away,
Ere cold October blasts despoil the bloom of May."

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CHAPTER VII.

After the full review which has been taken of the mystic odes and sonnets of the Persians, I have only to take notice of the Musnuwee, a kind of epic poem, generally on subjects of love, or the pleasures of the spring.* Perhaps this is the most pleasing species of their poetry; their verses are not confined by the laws of the Ghuzl, and, as the subject is connected, we never meet with those unaccountable transitions which so frequently occur in the Ghuzls of the Persian poets.

The Musnuwees of Nizamee, Jamee, and Hatif, are superior to those of any other poet; and it is a subject of much regret, that Jamee, who particularly excelled in this kind of composition, should have employed his genius in writing theological treatises, and in composing ridiculous tales on divine love. The loves of Yoosoof and Zuleekha, by Jamee,† is a most excellent poem; the Lylee and

* Nizamee has written one on Alexander the Great. May not Alexander's search after the water of immortality have some faint allusion to his march to the temple of Jupiter Ammon? The poet consoles him for his want of success, by assuring him that his verses will make him immortal. How greatly is it to be regretted, that the Musnuwee of Yoosoof and Zuleekha, by Firdousee, is so far lost as not to be procurable in India.

† The history of the loves of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. It is curious that the poet should have forgot, that when Zuleekha accuses Yoosoof of attempting to violate her chastity, she adds, that as he was running away, she tore the hinder part of his garment. To establish innocence, a child of six months speaks, and tells her husband, that if Yoosoof's garment is torn *before* he is guilty, and if *behind* innocent; because he must have been running away to escape complying with her wishes. The subject of this poem is taken from the Koran; Paradise Lost from the Bible. The most infatuated admirer of Persian cannot but admit, that the divine sublimity of the latter soars as much above the former, as the wild bombast of Mahomet sinks below the simple eloquence of the Books of Moses.

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Mujnoon of Hatif is equally worthy our attention; and the history of the loves of Sheereen and Khoosroo is as notorious in the East, as the majesty, prosperity, and apostacy of Khoosroo, *the son and ally* of the Emperor Maurice, was formerly in the western world.*

The poets in Persia, from a vain spirit of emulation, have generally written Musnuwees on the same subject as a preceding poet, without making the smallest alteration in the plan or characters of the former writer. I do not recollect, in any of the Musnuwees I have read, having met with the figure prosopopœia, a want which deprives poetry, particularly this kind, of one of its greatest beauties.†

The Persian Musnuwee, on the charms and pleasures of the spring, breathes a spirit of enthusiasm and rapture difficult to be conceived by an inhabitant of a more northern clime. This season, however, is perhaps the most delightful of any in the year. To see nature reviving from the tyrant hand of winter; to see those trees and fields, which we recollect but a short time before, bereft of all their beauties, now bursting forth in all the luxuriance of verdure, must awaken, in every rational mind, sensations of grateful and pleasing delight. We appear to participate with the vegetable world in the advantages of a returning sun; and we contemplate with pleasure the rapid progress all nature makes to maturity and perfection. Each day makes us acquainted with fresh beauties, and nature seems to delight in unfolding her varied charms to the eye of the observer. On the other hand, the approach to winter is sad and dismal; nature sinks under the weight of its oppression; it robs her of her choicest charms, and at length it leaves her nothing. Poets have always, therefore, turned with complacency

* Gibbon, vol. vii.

† The great Hindostanee poet, Souda, uses it in a beautiful poem he has written on Avarice.

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to the beauties of the spring, and have celebrated it more than any other season of the year. It is the season of love and poetry.* But particularly in a country like Persia, which experiences an equal severity of heat and cold. Their poetry on this subject, though sometimes stiff and affected, is by far the most pleasing of any of their compositions. Amongst the many poems which have celebrated the charms and delights of the spring, the Musnuwee of Mirza Mihr Nusur holds the highest place; Sadee, Hafiz, and Jamee have also consecrated many of their odes to the praises of this delightful season.†

The verses of Khy-yoom are written in so free, not to say so impious, a style, as to have excited against him the vengeance of the priests of the Moosulman religion. Notwithstanding these objections to his poems, his verses are much admired, particularly those in favour of the delights of love and wine, which are conceived in such animated strains, as to convince every one that he was most excellently qualified to judge of the merits of his subject. He drank wine, I have heard, openly; and, excepting by a few Soofees, was held in no consideration by any of his cotemporaries.

CONCLUSION.

I have now completed the review which I proposed of the Persian language; it might have been greatly enlarged by my noticing the

* Thompson (William), in his beautiful hymn to May, makes Venus born in this month:

"In this soft season, when creation smil'd,
A quivering splendour on the ocean hung,
And from the fruitful froth his fairest child,
The queen of bliss and beauty, sprung.
The dolphins gambol o'er the watery way,
Carrol the Naiads, while the Tritons play,
And all the sea-green sisters bless the holiday.
In honour of her natal month, the queen
Of bliss and beauty consecrates her hours, &c. &c. &c."

† Mirza Mihr Nuseer was physician to Kureem Khan. Vide Appendix, No. 5.

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works of Khaqanee, Saeb,* Oorfee, and a variety of other poets, whose productions are seldom if ever read. It was my aim, however, to give some notion of the works which are esteemed at present in Persia, and I trust I have not entirely failed in my attempt.

In whatever light we may view the Persian language, we cannot but allow that it possesses a sweetness and facility of expression which few modern languages equal; and that notwithstanding their ignorance of the rules of European criticism, the poems of many Persian authors are perused with pleasure and delight; I see no reason, therefore, why we should quarrel with an author about the means he uses to afford us pleasure; it is sufficient for us, that his intention should be answered. If we admit this argument, our opinion of the Persian language will be tolerably favourable: but if, on the contrary, we are directed solely in our judgment by the rules of criticism, we cannot but form a harsh and violent opinion of the Persian language and Persian authors.

* Saeb says himself, "Shairan gur sheri khood bur cheenund, Saebao qulumdanush be manund." Yet his similes are better than most of the poets.

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CHAPTER VIII.

NEITHER the Arabians nor Persians are distinguished among the nations of the East for the profundity of their researches, or the depth of their erudition. Whatever knowledge they possessed was acquired either from India or Greece; and their works upon literature and philosophy manifest a servile but feeble imitation of their great originals. A vagrant and roving tribe would naturally make some observations upon the situation of the stars, their only guides over an extensive and inhospitable desert. But they had made a very imperfect and confined progress in the science of astronomy subsequent to the period of the Calif Almamon.

As it is not the intention of this work to trace the rise and progress of science either amongst the Arabians or Persians, I shall make a rapid sketch of a subject which would require volumes to illustrate, and then proceed to describe the present state of literature amongst the Persians.

The Arabs, in the time of their ignorance, that is before the æra of Moohummud, were Sabians; the Persians, Magians; who, whether they sought the mediation of the planets and stars, or endeavoured to reconcile moral good and physical evil, by the existence of two opposite principles, appear to have agreed in the immutable and eternal truth of a *great* first *cause*.* The Sabians are commonly called by travellers Christians of St. John the

* See Hyde de Relig. Pers.—Gibbon, whose work is invaluable even for its Oriental learning, vol. i. p. 318, 25. vol. ix. p. 244. Maurice, Sale, 18.

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Baptist.* The Magians, Gubrs, Gaurs, and on the western side of India, Parsees.

In the most early times, the Arabs prided themselves on the purity and copiousness of their language, the poignancy of their wit, and the unrestrained eloquence of their compositions. Their generosity was unlimited; and the "same hospitality (observes an elegant historian) which was practised by Abraham, and celebrated by Homer, is still renewed in the camp of the Arabs. Their manners have been neither softened nor refined by the civilization of the neighbouring nations; and, excepting the Arabs situated on the sea coast, we may suppose them to be as rude and as hospitable, as savage and as generous, as they were in the most distant ages. To rob a person of any thing, is to gain it;† but amongst themselves their honesty is inviolable; and a stranger, who throws himself upon their clemency, is sure to be treated with kindness, and to be dismissed with thankfulness and regret.

Such was the condition of the Arabs in their days of ignorance, and such is the present condition of the Bedoweens in their days of illumination and knowledge.

The propagation of the Mahometan religion effected a wonderful change, not only in Asia, but in Europe; it contributed, however, nothing to the advancement of science. Mahomet, indeed, appears to have been conscious, that the Koran would rather suffer by the arguments and learning of his followers, and he therefore calls those who disputed the divine origin of his book, philosophers and fools. The method which he took to deliver the inspired work, sufficiently shews how much he must have suffered by the impertinent and forcible cavils of his opponents, for his usual way of refuting an argument is by a divine revelation. The prophet seems to have inspired his immediate successors with the necessity of

* Sale, p. 20.; Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 250. D'Anville.

† Sale's Prel. Disc. p. 40.

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keeping his disciples in the profoundest state of ignorance; and to this political motive we may attribute the memorable destruction of the Alexandrian library, a loss which the literary world have unanimously agreed in deploring, but which has been most ably combated by a philosophic writer.*

The views, however, of the Arabian caliphs extended with their conquests; and we find them, in the second century of the Hijree, patronizing learned men of every nation, and of every religion, and their vessels carrying on a commerce from the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, to the ports and islands in the Indian and China Seas.†

Philosophy and science met a protector in Haroun al Rashid, the hero of the Arabian Nights, and the correspondent of Charlemagne; and under the reign of his youngest son, Al Mamon, it burst forth with encreased splendour; but his memory will not escape the charge of extreme barbarism, for having destroyed the original books he procured to be translated.

What Mahomet had so sagaciously foreseen at length came to pass; the simple beauties or unintelligible mysteries of the Koran, were not suited to the comprehension of the learned doctors of the peripatetic school; the manly diction of the Koran gave way to abstruse allegories and forced interpretations, and the imagination was tortured to pervert or improve the ordinances of the prophet. Sects subdivided themselves into sects; and they now reckon seventy-three, one more than the Christians, and two above the Jews.‡

Persia fell under the dominion of the Mahometans in the first century of the Hijree; and, with the religion, received the philosophy, and, in part, the language of the Arabians, I have neither

* Mr. Gibbon doubts the fact, I think, with justice. See Appendix, No. VI.

† Robertson's India, p. 92, 94. The Calif Omar founded Bussora, and with such discernment, that it supplies Arabia, Turkey, and Persia with the produce of India. From Bussora to Isphahan is a march of twenty days.

‡ Sale's Prelim. Dis. p. 90.

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the inclination, nor the ability to detail the history and revolutions of the Persians. It will be here sufficient to say, that in the fourth century of the Hijree, the kingdom of Persia was usurped by the Bow-idees; it then passed into the hands of the Turks, the Moguls, and was afterwards included amongst the conquests of Tamerlane.*

Under the princes of the Suffuweian dynasty, the empire of Persia enjoyed its greatest share of tranquillity and prosperity; at this memorable æra philosophy flourished, and men of learning were respected; to this period, therefore, we must look to ascertain the extent of their knowledge in the arts, in literature, philosophy, and in science.

As far as I know, travellers have been entirely silent on the proficiency which the Persians may have made in the fine arts. I know not whether they ever had any statuaries amongst them; their painting I have before observed to be exceedingly imperfect; and neither the private houses nor public buildings shew their skill in architecture.

I shall adopt their own division of philosophy, *practical* and *speculative*; the first, notwithstanding all their divisions, resolving into ethics, and the latter into metaphysics.

Sadee may be considered as the great moral preceptor of the Persians; for, although most of the poets have composed sententious maxims of morality, none of them (as far as I know) have written exclusively upon the subject. The Goolistan, Boostan, and Pund Namu, may, generally speaking, be considered as works upon morality, although the two former are diversified with various

* I forbear to mention the conquest of Meer Vais and his son, the success of Nadir Shah, the decline of the Zund dynasty, and the usurpation of the Qujurs. A most interesting account is given of the conduct of the Afghans, by Jonas Hanway, in his Travels into Persia.

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stories upon lighter subjects. The precepts of morality are inculcated by Sadee with energy and with truth, and he has not failed to recommend and illustrate his doctrines with the beauties and graces of poetry.

But, owing to the flexible disposition of a Persian, the morality of Sadee will either support the spirit of suffering virtue, or justify the crimes of successful vice. It either inculcates the ferocious rudeness of sullen independence, or glosses over the accommodating disposition of servile subjection. Unfortunately the present race of Mooslims is much more inclined to benefit by the laxity of their opinions, than to observe the more rigid and austere precepts of their morality. There are a number of verses which every man has by heart; and when his conduct is represented as infamous or criminal, a verse of Sadee or Hafiz is recited as an immediate exculpation. One of the most common is, "a lie, purporting good, is better than a truth, exciting disturbance;" which is not, however, confined to this purpose, but is adopted as a justification of every possible falsehood. But to give a strong instance of this fact:—When Tippoo's ambassadors were at Madras, in the year 1792, and endeavouring, under the cloak of their character, to excite the ill will of the inhabitants against the British government, one of them, in a letter to his master, advises him to agree to a proposal, "upon the principle recommended by Hafiz, of Sheeraz, the mercy of God be upon him! *with friends cordiality, with enemies dissimulation.*" Another story is told of Sufdur Jung, the Nabob of Lucknow, which has probably been related of a number of other persons. A petition was delivered to him, which ended with the following couplet from Sadee: "O tyrant! the oppressor of the helpless! how long will your streets continue populous." The Nabob, not in the least incensed at the insolence of the man, wrote the following couplet, from Hafiz, on the back of the petition: "I have been

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nied access to the street of the virtuous; if you dislike this, change my destiny.*

These verses are used upon every occasion; and it requires little argument to shew, that the verses which justify vice, will be oftner quoted than those which acknowledge the beauty of virtue.

Sir William Jones, who was sure to cull the choicest flowers from every work, notices the doctrine which was inculcated both by Sadee and Hafiz, of returning good for evil, a lesson not unknown to the Greeks.

A number of works in prose have been written upon the subject of ethics; the most admired among the Persians, is that of Nusurood Deen Toosee, called the Ukhlaqi Nasiree. The groundwork of this production is taken from Plato and Aristotle. Nusurood Deen is said to have been an accomplished scholar in the Greek language.† But there is such an everlasting desire to dogmatize, and to demonstrate what does not need demonstration, as to render his work, as a moral book, of little or no value. The following quotation (if I have been able to do it justice) may be taken as a specimen of his style:

"Justice is founded upon equality; and, until we become acquainted with unity, it is impossible for us to comprehend plurality.

"Unity is, therefore, of the most superior and excellent kind, whence numbers generate, even as all things generate, from the Supreme Creator; therefore as all things bear affinity to unity, so is their pre-eminence,‡ and therefore nothing can surpass equality;

* This story may remind us of Lord Carteret's answer to Swift:
"Res duræ et regni novitas me talia cogunt
"Moliri—"

† Fryer's Travels.

‡ "Justice implies equality, and this equality lies in the middle between two extremes, the greater and lesser: for whatever admits of division into two unequal parts, may also be equally divided." Gilles's Aristotle, vol. i. p. 264.

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nor is there any quality superior to justice, as we may observe in all our worldly concerns; for a middle and consistent course is equity; and however little we may depart from that line, so much do we depart from justice, and, to be right, we must revert to it again. And as unity is the sole cause of strength and confirmation, so is plurality the cause of weakness and imbecillity,* nay of corruption and depravity.

"Equity is a shadow of unity; for, by taking equal or consistent proportions of opposites, we raise and elevate them from the lowliness of depravity, and approximation to corruption, to a lofty height; and if there was not equality, there could be no harmony and union; because the existence of the vegetable and mineral creation depends upon the harmonious and consistent proportion of the four elements. In short, this is a prolix subject, we had, therefore, better revert to our original proposition. Justice and equity, therefore, depends upon assimilating opposites," &c.

However philosophical such definitions may be, and however consonant to the philosophy of the ancients, it must be confessed, that they are not likely to be understood by the vulgar and illiterate; people who stand most in need of instruction in the moral duties of life.

The plain, the simple and unaffected style of Sadee, is therefore infinitely superior to the recondite and elaborate disquisitions of the author of the Ukhlaqi Nasiree; for we now live in an age which will prefer the simple garb of truth, to the cumbrous trappings of unprofitable erudition.

The metaphysics of the Persians is derived from the Greek; and the lively imagination of their philosophers has induced them to

Will it not, therefore, be proper to enquire, with the great Plotinus, whether multitude is not a departure and distance from one, so that infinity itself is a separation from unity in the extreme; because it is no other than innumerable multitude, that on this account it becomes evil, &c. Taylor's Proclus. Dis. p. 10.

* See Taylor's Proclus. Dis. p. 10, 11.

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prefer Plato to Aristotle. Their religion, however, has instructed them to temper his philosophy; and they all agree in the necessity of one primary cause, and the immortality of the mind or soul. They trace the vegetable creation from the weed, which dies instantaneously, to the sensitive plant or the date tree; in the animal creation, from the insect fluttering but a moment, to the scientific bee;* and, in like manner, by an infinite series, to those whose immaculate purity qualify them for an union with the divine essence. Like Plato, they make the soul to be composed of three *faculties;* the irascible, which undergoes a variety of divisions, the concupiscible, and the rational.

As a specimen of their metaphysics, I venture to produce an extract from the Ukhlaqi Nasiree, on the immateriality of the soul. The conciseness of his style, and the abstruseness of the subject, make me doubt whether I have done it justice.

"No body can receive an impression until a former impression be effaced; for a triangular form cannot become a square until the former be destroyed; nor can wax, which has received the impression of the seal, receive another before the first be defaced;† for if a semblance of the first remains, the impressions will be intermixed, and neither of them perfect. This law is uniform, and invariable towards all bodies. But the state of the mind is directly the reverse; for as many sensations as the mind may receive, are received in progression, without there being any necessity to efface the former, nay, they are retained with vigour and perfection; neither does it happen that the mind becomes weak or faint by a variety of impressions; on the contrary, it proves its capacity to receive more; for the more extensive the science and civilization of man, the greater is his knowledge and sagacity, and his ability for further improvement. Now this is directly the reverse of all substances,

* M'Laurin proves that their cells are constructed with the utmost geometrical nicety.

† See Taylor's Proclus, p. 88.

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therefore the mind is not material." Again, "No substance can possess, at the same moment, two opposite qualities, for a substance cannot be both black and white. The predominating qualities of bodies are always discoverable from fervidity, heat, from blackness, the colour (as it is unphilosophically called) black. But the mind is the reverse of this; for it can perceive opposites, and at the same moment have a notion of blackness and whiteness. But the imagination cannot create real sensations; for however intensely we may think of heat, we shall not become warm; or however long we may think of extension or breadth, the mind will neither become extended nor broad;* therefore the mind is not material." Again, "The faculties delight in the perception of corporeal objects, and indulging in sensual gratification; the faculty of sight, in beautiful forms; hearing, in harmonious sounds; the appetite of concupiscence, in the gratification of lust; and anger, in raging to excess; indulgence confirms and strengthens these faculties; the mind, on the contrary, is weakened and impaired; for the more it refrains from sensuality, the stronger and more vigorous does it become; the greater is its delight in contemplating the attributes of the Creator, and in its pursuit after those noble and permanet objects which are so superior to those which are lowly and material.†

* "Oh! who can hold a fire in his hand,
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus;
Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite,
Or wallow naked in December snows,
By thinking of fantastic summer's heat,
By bare imagination of a feast? Richard II.

† See Disc. on the Nature of the Soul. Taylor's Proclus, p. 50.
Milton imitates a passage in Plato. See Hurd on Imitation.

"But when lust,
By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,
But most by lewd and lavish act of sin,
Lets in defilement to the inward parts,
The soul grows clotted by contagion,
Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
The divine property of her first being."

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This is an evident proof that the mind is neither body nor corporeal; for all things derive strength from congruities; but from contrarieties, weakness. Material gratification impairs the mind, abstinence from corporeal enjoyments confirms it."

Again, " No sense can be employed from its appropriate end. The eye perceives nothing but objects of vision, the ear nothing but sounds; nor can any sense perceive itself, or its means of perception; for the sense of seeing neither perceives the eye nor vision, nor can the senses discover their own errors.* The eye beholds the sun (which is an hundred and sixty times larger than the earth) no bigger than the moon; yet it is ignorant of this; nor can it assign a cause for the inversion of trees on the margin of a river; and this applies to the other senses. But the mind receives at once the sensations of all the senses; and knows that such a voice proceeds from such a person, and that such a voice is not the voice of such a person."

After using some other arguments, to shew that the mind is not material, he proceeds to demonstrate the immortality of the soul. " For a clearer notion of the soul, we should know that it survives the dissolution of the body; that death has no power over it; on the contrary, it is incompatible with annihilation, which may be thus demonstrated: Every perpetual existence, that is obnoxious to death, must enjoy perpetuity in act, and annihilation in potentiality; and in such a case, it is requisite that the subject of perpetuity in act, must be different from the subject of annihilation in potentiality. Because if the thing, which has perpetuity in act, has also annihilation in potentiality, it follows, that when annihilation in potentiality changes to act, perpetuity and annihilation are

* " Nor doth the eye itself,
(That most pure spirit of sense) behold itself
Not going from itself." Troilus and Cressida.

I have seen a book, written by a Latin monk, which, amongst other things, attempts to prove, that the nose might perform the office of the eyes!

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involved in one subject, and this is impossible. It is, therefore, necessary that the subject, which has perpetuity in act, should be distinct from that which has annihilation in potentiality. Annihilation in potentiality, will be the subject of that which enjoys perpetuity in act; therefore every being obnoxious to death, is a *quality* in a *subject*; and a *quality* must be either *figure* or *adjunct*. Annihilation, therefore, is only *figure* or *accident*. I have already shewn, that the mind or soul is not a quality in a subject; but that it is an essence subsisting of itself, neither body nor corporeal, therefore not liable to annihilation."

The Persians have attended to the subtleties and distinctions of metaphysics, without endeavouring to improve themselves by the light of experiment. They begin, as it has been remarked of the Greeks, where we (I mean the followers of Bacon and Locke) leave off.

I have already attempted to illustrate the philosophy of the Soofees, a system which is adopted by the few learned men in Persia; and which seems, in early times, to have prevailed amongst the Jews; in India, amongst the disciples of the Vedanti school; and in Europe amongst the Theosophists.* Sir William Jones expresses, with great precision, the tenets of the Indian school, and which does not differ from the doctrines maintained by the Soofees of the present day. "The fundamental tenet of the Vedanti school, to which, in a more modern age, the incomparable Sancara was a firm and illustrious adherent, consisted not in denying the existence of matter; that is of solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure; (to deny which would be lunacy) but in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending that it has no essence independent of mental perception: that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms; that external appearances and sensations are illusory,

* See Enfield's History of Philosophy, vol. ii. p. 222, 488. Sir William Jones, vol. i. p. 164.

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and would vanish into nothing if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment: an opinion which Epicharmus and Plato seem to have adopted, and which has been maintained, in the present century, with great elegance, but with little public applause," &c. The Soofees consider themselves immersed in depravity by a union with matter: and, in the figurative style of their poets, lament the separation from their beloved, and solicit, with impatient ardour, a release from a material and earthly bondage.

The science of the Persians is, I believe, extremely confined. They have translations of Euclid, Ptolomy's alguma, and optics; the works of Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, and some other of the Grecian philosophers, which few of them read, and fewer understand. Their perverse predelection for judicial astrology excites them to the study of this science, merely that they may foretel the conjunction of the planets; and when they are able to do this with any degree of accuracy, they are accounted men of considerable science. They have two descriptions of Ephemeris, called Qumuree and Shumsee; the first, containing the conjunctions and opposition of the luminaries; and the second, the eclipses, the longitude and latitude of the stars, &c. but with what precision I cannot determine. They have, according to Fryer, some knowledge of geometry, algebra, and trigonometry, and have, amongst other of their books, some fragments of Archimedes. Fryer speaks handsomely of their astrolabes. I have seen some of their globes, made both of silver and of a brass, whch struck me to be tolerably correct. They put to me a number of questions concerning Yungi Dooneeya (America), and were astonished at the accounts I gave them of the extent of that continent, the height of its mountains, and the greatness of its rivers. Like the ancients, they conceive some part of the globe is uninhabitable; and maintain that, as you proceed

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south, the heat becomes so intense, as to cause immediate death!

Their tracts upon law and theology are excessively voluminous; and their treatises upon logic, I have heard, are by no means contemptible.

Sir William Jones takes notice of a passage in Nizamee which alludes to the theory of attraction;* others might be produced from Jamee which allude in an equally vague manner to this abstruse and obscure subject. The learning of Persia, however, is upon its decline: and they are not likely to throw light upon a subject, which the science and learning of Newton was unable to illustrate,

Having taken this review of their learning, I shall add but a few words upon the subject of their learned men.

It must be allowed that their acquisition in literature has not had the effect of *softening their manners;* they are, for the most part of them, unconscionable pedants, who would solemnly acquaint you that "*divers philosophers have held, that the lips is a parcel of the mouth;*" or, would ostentatiously display their learning in attempting to divide "a hair 'twixt south and south-west side." It is difficult to converse with them without being involved in an argument; and the Koran is quoted as an authority, which it would be heresy to dispute. They are perpetually interrupting you for logical definitions, which branches out the argument into a thousand different parts. They argue more like an automaton than a raional being; and insist upon demonstrations when they know they cannot be given. But if they yield an implicit obedience to the dogmas of others, let them not be defrauded of their due; they can at least repeat what another has either written or discovered. And if their modes of life do not manifest the advantage of superior

* Vol. i. p. 176.

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wisdom, their actions, I fear, will afford some excuse for the follies, and some extenuation for the vices of mankind. Superior wisdom has, in general, marked superior virtue; but in Persia, the man who possesses the greatest abilities, unfortunately enjoys the more ample field for doing harm; and, like the snake who carries the most poison, commits the greater destruction.

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A

HISTORY

OF THE

EMPIRE OF PERSIA,

FROM THE DEATH OF

KUREEM KHAN,

TO THE SUBVERSION OF THE

ZUND DYNASTY.

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A

HISTORY

OF THE

EMPIRE OF PERSIA.

Introduction.

THE materials for the following work have been collected with considerable diligence and expence. The facts detailed in this history are drawn from an historical account, written by a native of Sheeraz, from the time of Kureem Khan, to the captivity and death of Lootf Ulee Khan; and also from a manuscript written by a person who was an actor in the transactions he relates, and for some time Mirza, or secretary to Moohummud Khan, the son of Zukee Khan.

It is not to be expected that an historian, living under a despotic monarchy, and detailing the successes of the family who now sway the sceptre of Persia, would not, in many instances, be guilty of unpardonable flattery and wilful falsehood. The same may be observed of an historian attached to the interests and connected with the family of Kureem Khan: we may naturally suspect him of often attributing *that* to fortune, which has been the result of provident wisdom and sagacious foresight. I have fortunately been able to temper the animosity of the latter, with the flexible and pliant disposition of the former; and, I trust, I shall be able to deduce such a narrative

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of facts, as may throw some light upon the affairs of a great, an extensive, and once flourishing country.

Kureem Khan returns to Sheeraz.

The Persian historian informs us, that when Kureem Khan had established his government in the districts of Ardybyajan, Irak, Rusht, and Geelan, he commenced his march towards Sheeraz, accompanied by the principal chieftains and persons of consequence in the subdued provinces, and that on the 11th

A. D. 1775.

of Sufur, 1189, he entered his favourite city. He now devoted his time in securing the tranquillity and independence of government; in adorning both the city and adjacent country with monuments of his munificence; in founding colleges and baths, and in erecting such other buildings as should add to the appearance of the city, and to the comfort and ease of its inhabitants.

The Vakeel's Buzar will hand down his memory to an admiring and grateful posterity; and it was not without infinite labour and expence that A Moohummud Khan enjoyed the malicious satisfaction of having destroyed the fort of Sheeraz, which had been strengthened with numerous bastions, and with a deep and broad ditch.

His troops make several conquests.

Whilst Kureem Khan was thus laudably employed, his troops, under the command of Sadiq Khan, Nuzr Ulee Khan, and Moohummud Khan Zund, subdued the districts of Kirman and Seestan, which were defended by the inhabitants and a body of Afghans. Several other places which had resisted the king's authority were also brought into subjection. The important city of Bussora was also added as an appendage to the Persian government, after a long and bloody siege (1778).

Mildness and prosperity of his government.

The reign of this prince may be considered as a phenomenon in the history of Persia. The happiness of the subject appeared to be the primary principle of the government; trade flourished, industry was rewarded, and the arts began even to revive, though

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Kureem Khan was too illiterate to appreciate their value.* He was beloved by his subjects, respected by his neighbours; and, we may continue with our author and the prophet, that "when the Almighty favours a nation, he grants them a virtuous sovereign."

Sheeraz was famous for the equity and mildness of its government; and it became, in consequence, more populous than any other city in the kingdom. Justice pervaded every department of government; but, under a despotic monarchy, the presence of the king is often required to insure its administration. The inhabitants of this favoured place enjoyed, for a period of thirteen years, the greatest degree of security. "But man was born to die! and in the fourteenth year of his residence at Sheeraz, the cup-bearer saw that his days were completed; and, filling the bowl of his existence with the bitter wine of death, he was attacked with a violent and inveterate distemper; and on the 13th of Sufur, in the year 1193, towards the morning, he delivered up his soul to the giver of life." A. D. 1799.

His character.

All Persia has been unanimous in giving but one character of Kureem Khan; it would be temerity in a stranger to dispute it. Under the reign of the Vakeel, anarchy was subdued, tranquillity was established, the country was cultivated, and his subjects wore the smile of prosperity. An excellent police was established in every city of the kingdom; justice was administered to the meanest individual, and the ear of the Vakeel was open to the most trivial complaint. His generosity bordered upon profuseness; and he is said to have valued money only as it advanced the enjoyments of his subjects.† This is a picture of a sovereign which no one would wish to destroy. Yet I must

* See Franklin. His treaty with the Honourable East India Company manifests a most liberal and enlightened policy.

† Franklin, p. 307.

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suppose, that necessity compelled him to adopt the violent measures of his reign, and that the repeated disaffections of the inhabitants of Dires forced him to hold them up as a severe and impressive example of the punishments due to refractory and disobedient subjects. It is almost impossible for human nature not to abuse despotic authority; the Vakeel deserves a just tribute of applause for having used it so leniently. The numerous stories which the inhabitants of Persia still relate of Kureem Khan, shew the degree of estimation he is held in; for we may remark, that we only recollect and repeat insignificant anecdotes about those we either love or respect. He died, as we have seen, a natural death, at the advanced age of eighty, after a reign of near thirty years.*

His sons.

He left three sons, Abool Futeh Khan, Moohummud Ulee Khan, and Ibrahim Khan. The relations of the late king, and a number of the principal officers,† declared themselves in favour of Abool Futeh Khan; and, possessing themselves of the citadel, they made every necessary preparation to resist Zukee Khan, whose ambitious designs were just objects of suspicion.

Zukee Khan besieges the citadel.

Zukee Khan was determined to secure by force what stratagem had failed to effect; and finding that his insidious offer of delaying the final arrangement of the government until the interment of the Vakeel, was treated with disregard, he commenced his preparations for attacking the citadel. He began to erect batteries, and effected a lodgement in a house which unaccountably commanded the works of the citadel, so that the garrison could not expose themselves without the greatest danger.

Takes it by treachery.

He continued his attack for three days, when the officers

* Franklin.

† The following were among the number of the principal persons: Nuzr Ulee Khan and his two sons, Mihr Ulee Khan, a cousin of the Vakeel, &c.

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delivered themselves up, on a promise of security and pardon. Their submission, however, prolonged their lives but a few short moments, and their mode of execution was inhumanly savage. They were attacked and butchered by Puhulwans, the gladiators of the Persians; and if Zukee Khan were present, he but renewed scenes which were contemplated with pleasure and satisfaction by the most polished Romans.*

Their houses and property were confiscated, and their children ordered into confinement. Zukee Khan, after this success, raised to the throne Moohummud Khan, the second son of the Vakeel, and who was united to his daughter, reserving, however, the entire management of the empire in his own hands.

Sadiq Khan evacuates Bussora.

Whilst these transactions were carried on, Sadiq Khan, the brother of the Vakeel, who had continued at Bussora after the fall of that place, collected the army under his command, with the intention of opposing Zukee Khan's pretensions to the government.† At Dorack‡ he received the unwelcome intelligence of his rival's successful usurpation, and becoming alarmed, he consulted with Moohummud Hosein Khan, who advised him to retire to Bum, the family inheritance of his minister. These movements were not made without the knowledge of Zukee Khan, who sent injunctions to all the officers who had wives and families at Sheeraz, to desert their chieftain, and to repair to that city; threatening, in case of their refusal, that their property would be given up to the plunder of the soldiery, and their families imprisoned. These orders had an instantaneous effect; Sadiq Khan was deserted by the whole of his army, and

* There is some reason to doubt the fact; and, for the sake of humanity, I could wish there was more. The manuscript asserts that the citadel was stormed, three of the officers slain, and the rest put to death. Franklin, p. 318, and the Persian historian agree.

† The history makes Sadiq Khan evacuate Bussora and besiege Sheeraz in the time of Zukee Khan, which is certainly wrong, (See Franklin, p. 323,) Manuscript.

‡ The capital of Chaub, south-east of Bussora.

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was glad, with the few remaining of his adherents, to secure himself in the fortress of Bum.

Faithlessness of an Asiatic army.

Before we wade through a detail of minute events, we may notice the little dependence which can be placed upon the fidelity of an Asiatic army. The slightest breath will often turn the tide of popular favour; and a commander, instead of looking up to his troops for protection, often considers them his most dangerous enemies. Sadiq Khan had commanded his troops with success; and his liberality is spoken of even at this period. But obedience in the East is the reward of cruelty; and we may, in some measure, attribute the success of Jengez Khan, Timoor, and Nadir Shah, to the severity of their discipline.

A Moohummud Khan escapes from Sheeraz.

On the evening of the decease of the late king, A Moohummud Khan, with several of his friends, relations, and dependents, left Sheeraz, on the pretence of hunting, and continued at a place twenty miles from that city, until they had ascertained the decease of the king. He also determined to assert his claims to the throne, and set out for Isphahan, accompanied by a number of chieftains, who had been delivered up as securities into the hands of Kureem Khan.† The sons, however, of Ulee Khan Ufshar had anticipated his purpose; for having collected a body of Ufshars, Loors, and Bukhteearees, they advanced against Isphahan, and the governor, being alarmed for his safety, retired into the citadel. A Moohummud did not think it expedient to prosecute his designs, and accordingly retired to Shuhr Yar, near to Tuhran. Here he was met by his relation, Ubdal Khan; and they entered into a mutual engagement, which was confirmed by an oath, that the one should never desert the other,

* MS. According to the Persian history he fled to Kirman.

† It is a common practice in the East for an officer of rank to leave either his son, brother, or family, in the hands of the prince, as a pledge of his fidelity.

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and that Moohummud Khan should never lessen his friendship for Ubdal Khan. It was now that he took the decisive step of assuming the ensigns of royalty.

Moortuza Qoolee Khan asserts his claim to the throne.

Moortuza Qoolee Khan, the governor of Astrabad, determined to avail himself of the present troubles; he accordingly entered the city of Mazenderan, which had been deserted by the governor. Flushed with the success of this predatory incursion, he proclaimed himself king, and prepared to resist his brother, who had received the governor of Mazenderan into his protection, and avowed his intention of reinstating him in his government. Willing, however, to try the effects of negociation, he sent out a deputation of the principal people, who stated, "that at present there was no King of Persia, that the country was in confusion, and that he had possessed himself of Mazenderan." They concluded by desiring A Moohummud Khan to seize upon other countries. He contented himself by demanding "whom they were for;" and finding that they were unwilling to espouse his cause, dismissed them to their master.

Defeated.

After much fruitless negociation, Moortuza Qoolee Khan was so far won over to the purposes of his brother, that he consented to an interview, when the strong dissuasions of Hajee Ibrahim induced him to alter his determination, and to dismiss the embassador who had been sent to him by A Moohummud. The veil which had so flimsily concealed their designs was now entirely rent asunder, and they prepared to carry by force what they hoped to have effected by treachery Moortuza Qoolee Khan entrusted the command of his army to Ruza Qoolee Khan, who advanced against the enemy. After an engagement of two hours, they were entirely defeated and taken prisoners. Moortuza Qoolee Khan fled to Astrabad; but Hajee Ibrahim fell into the hands of A Moohummud, who ordered him to be put to death. This victory determined the fate of Mazenderan,

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and A Moohummud Khan had now leisure to employ himself in securing his conquest. I have been induced to anticipate a little, that I might not reassume a feeble and prolix thread of events. It is now time that we revert to the transactions at Sheeraz.

An army sent against Isphahan.

Zukee Khan having received information of the successful irruption of the sons of Ulee Khan Ufshar, and which was confirmed by the arrival of the governor of Isphahan, gave instant orders for a body of troops to march against that city. So vigorous were the measures of his government, that on the same day three thousand horse, under the command of Bustam Khan, commenced their march against the brothers. They prepared to resist; but on the arrival of this small force within forty miles of the city, their army dispersed, each person returning to his home, or seeking safety in concealment. Disappointed in their views, they endeavoured to make a merit of submission, and advanced to meet Bustam Khan, who received them with great demonstrations of regard and kindness. They were assassinated the same night, with five other persons! Assassinations are so common in the East, that they are passed over by an historian with the utmost composure. The brothers had attempted to aggrandize themselves, they had been unsuccessful, and they met with the fate of the unfortunate. The man who commits his all to the hazard of the cast, has no right to bewail his misfortune; a chief who assumes royalty, has less reason for complaint.

Zukee Khan receives accounts of A Moohummud's success.

This affair was no sooner settled to the satisfaction of Zukee Khan, than he received accounts of A Moohummud's important success. Prompt and decisive in his measures, he ordered a body of ten thousand horse and five thousand infantry, under the command of Ulee Moorad Khan, to advance to Isphahan, and sent orders to Bustam Khan to join this force, and proceed

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with it against Mazenderan. But Ulee Moorad Khan proved himself unworthy of his trust; for having won Bustam Khan to his views, and seducing the officers and troops under his command to his measures, he declared himself independent. The annals of Persia contain little more than a uniform tale of wretchedness and misery, of murder and treachery; and the mind, wearied and disgusted with this uniformity of vice, is hurried away to a contemplation of similar causes and events.*

Zukee Khan received this intelligence with the greatest indignation, and gave immediate orders for all the troops capable of bearing arms to assemble without the city, and taking the sons of the Vakeel along with him, he commenced his march without further delay towards Isphahan. His passion had got such an ascendancy over him, that his officers were not permitted to make the least preparation for the march, several of them being obliged to walk some miles before they got their horses. He left Akbur Khan, his eldest son, in the command of Sheeraz, and advanced, with the utmost expedition, to Yezdukhast, the boundary of Fars and Irak, and about one hundred miles from Isphahan. Leaves Sheeraz.

It was here that two officers of rank, with five other persons, agreed to assassinate the king, and communicating privately with Abool Futih Khan, they pledged themselves to make away with him on the approaching night. At midnight they advanced towards his tents; but the Khan being awake, discovered their intentions, and endeavoured to gain his public tent, where he saw some lights. As he approached, Abool Futih Khan cried out to the guards to fire, telling them that if Zukee Khan survived the night, not a man would escape. They fired, and he fell mortally wounded by three balls. He reigned but a few months, and was killed in the year 1779.

* See Appendix, No. VII.

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His character.

Zukee Khan is represented, in a short account of the history of these times, to have been a monster of cruelty, destitute of any good quality to counterbalance his vices, and his death even too lenient for his crimes.* The present account by no means authorizes these conclusions; on the contrary, he appears to have been a man of considerable ability; his measures were vigorous, prompt, and decisive; and the energy of his government had already subdued two rebellions. It is true he may be called an usurper; but in a country where a crown has never been possessed in regular descent, how are we to distinguish usurpation from right? In Persia the throne is the inheritance of the sword; and every individual conceives he has a right to advance his pretensions. This fatal error is one of the principal causes of the distracted state of Persia; for as the people are destitute of any prejudice for a particular family, no obstacle is opposed to the delusive hopes of ambition. We find immediately on the death of the Vakeel, who, we may suppose, from the length of his reign, might have secured the succession of his son, that five different chiefs asserted their claims to the throne. Zukee Khan appears to have been resolved on supporting his authority; his untimely, and perhaps unfortunate end, again opened a field to scenes of anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed. The vigour or cruelty of his government secured him either the obedience, or extorted the submission of his subjects; and of whatever crimes he might have been guilty, he could do no more than atone for them by his death.

Abool Futih Khan elected by the army.

The army declared itself in favour of Abool Futih Khan, who assembled the principal officers, and consulted with them, whether it would be most adviseable to prosecute their march

* See Franklin's Tour, p. 322, who gives a very different account. I have only to oppose written against oral evidence. It would be singular if a Zund was treated better than he deserved

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against Ulee Moorad Khan, or return to Sheeraz. The governor of Isphahan, and several other nobleman, declared themselves in favour of the former, observing, that he would not only destroy an enemy, but would also secure a rich and populous country; others again urged, that it would be better to return to Sheeraz, which, being the seat of government, and a strong fortress, the possession of it would naturally secure him the submission of the surrounding country. His own wishes seconded this advice; and having secured the person of Ukbur Khan, he gave himself up to the indulgence of the most degrading amusements. Ulee Moorad Khan took advantage of the imbecility of his rival, confirming his authority in the districts of Kashan, Kirmanshah, Berogird, Humudan, Tahran, and Quzween.*

Sadiq Khan marches for Sheeraz. A. D. 1779.

Sadiq Khan, who still continued at Bum,† hearing of the late revolutions, determined on returning to Sheeraz. The day after his arrival, he had an interview with the king, and presented him with the customary tokens of obedience. In private he informed him, that although he was his uncle, and greatly his senior, still it was his intention to shew him the same deference and respect as he had paid his brother. The suspicions which Sadiq Khan's conduct had excited, failed to effect a change in Abool Futih Khan; he still continued the same course; and the folly and weakness of his reign reduced the people to the severest distress. The clamours of the people were not even appeased with a promise of redress, nor were they allowed the satisfaction of pouring forth their complaints. Sadiq Khan endeavoured to effect a reformation in the king's character, but his advice was treated with levity and neglect. A few days subsequent to his deposition, he had signified a wish to deprive Ukbur Khan of his sight, which had been opposed by Sadiq Khan, who sent a party to release him. This was

* The principal cities and districts of Irak. † MSS.

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source of further disgust to Abool Futih Khan, and greatly increased the misunderstanding which prevailed between the uncle and the nephew.

Deposes Abool Futih Khan.

While every thing remained in this uncertainty, Sadiq Khan repaired, with his three sons, to one of the doors leading to the king's private apartments, and sent in a message, requesting his attendance. When Abool Futih Khan joined them, he represented, "that sovereigns were the natural protectors of their armies and subjects; that they were compared to the shepherd of a flock, who, if he neglected his charge, exposed it to the ravages of the wolf; that if he was ambitious of reigning, he should support his army and protect his subjects, or, at any rate, commit the management of his government into other hands." Highly incensed at this expostulation, he broke out in violent terms, and said, that if this language was ever repeated, his temerity should meet with the punishment it deserved. Upon this Sadiq Khan ordered his sons to seize the king, which was done, and his eyes put out. His brother underwent a similar fate. Thus one king makes way for another, who becomes the victim of a more successful rival. Humanity may shudder at this account; an account confirmed by the smoking ashes of desolated villages, and by the misery and bloodshed of thousands.

Sadiq Khan seizes the government.

Sadiq Khan now seized the reins of government; and, to ensure the affections of the troops, he reviewed them, and paid them their arrears. The first act of his government was to detach a body of thirty thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, under the command of his son, against Ulee Moorad Khan. At Qumshu* they were opposed by the enemy, and gained an easy victory. Ulee Moorad Khan determined to hazard another engagement, but he discovered that his troops

* A fortress one hundred miles from Isphahan.

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were disaffected, and some of his officers even inclined to deliver him into the hands of Ulee Nuqee Khan. He was compelled to secure himself by flight; and departing secretly from Isphahan, he retired to Humudan. Ulee Nuqee Khan had not the sense to repress the elation of victory, his imperious and haughty manners gave extreme disgust to his officers, and entirely estranged the affections from those who had espoused his cause. After halting a month at Isphahan, he prosecuted his march against Ulee Moorad Khan, who, with a small force, determined to oppose him. The two armies soon met, and as A. D. 1780. the nobles, who had taken umbrage at his behaviour, remained inactive, he experienced a severe defeat, and was obliged to fly towards Isphahan. He staid here two days; but finding that Ulee Morad Khan was advancing against him, he continued his flight to Sheeraz. Ulee Moorad Khan did not fail to make the most advantage of this victory; he contrasted the haughty self-sufficiency of his rival, with the courtesy and mildness of his behaviour; and by adding to the comforts of his subjects, he took the most effectual means of securing his own power.

Profligate conduct of his sons.

The successful usurpation of Sadiq Khan, instructed him in the melancholy lesson, that the happiness of man is not entirely dependent upon himself; and that the misfortunes of life receive some augmentation from dignity of situation. His three sons gave themselves up to a course of the most abandoned profligacy, throwing off all kind of obedience to paternal authority, and reducing the inhabitants, by the enormity of their conduct, to the severest distress. Ukbur Khan, the son of Zukee Khan, resented the indignities they had offered him, and effected his escape from Sheeraz. He was overtaken by a party sent out to pursue him, which he defeated, and pursued his journey to Isphahan.

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Ukbur Khan received by Ulee Moorad Khan.

Ulee Moorad Khan was fully sensible of the services which Ukbur Khan might render him, and received him with much attention and distinction. His own wishes were seconded by Ukbur Khan's suggestions, who received orders to levy a body of troops, for the purpose of advancing against Sheeraz. The hope of revenge stimulated his exertions; and in the course of twenty days he had collected a force of ten thousand cavalry. With this body he commenced his march; and two days after Ulee Moorad Khan followed him with a well appointed army.

A. D. 1780.

Defeats Sadiq Khan's army.

Sadiq Khan received information of this confederacy against him, and sent a large body of troops, under Ulee Nuqee Khan, to oppose the advance under Ukbur Khan. The two armies met, and an engagement commenced, which lasted, with the greatest obstinacy, for four hours, when fortune declared itself in favour of Ukbur Khan, the opposite army breaking and flying towards Sheeraz. Ukbur Khan pursued the fugitives, and pitched his camp within five miles of the city. The loss, in this action, amounted to about three hundred killed and wounded on either side.

Inconsiderable loss.

I may be excused noticing the very small number of men who are said to have been lost in an action which lasted four hours, and which was contested with bravery. I am apt to imagine that the general actions of the Persians are little more than skirmishes with detached parties of horse, and that the slightest advantage decides the fortune of the day. It is inconceivable that two armies, amounting to forty thousand men, should be engaged for four hours, and only suffer a loss of six hundred men. The ingenuity of the moderns has not increased the means of destruction; for the sword, in the hands of a Roman, even a Carthaginian, was as destructive an instrument as those which have been adopted by modern refinement; and

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the plain of Cannæ may rival, in horrid carnage, the fields of Kolin or of Cunnersdorff. But though we may wield the sword, we may want the arm of Scanderberg; and the Persians, I fear, possess the weapon without the resolution to use it.

Ulee Moorad Khan joined Ukbur Khan the following day, when they immediately commenced the siege of Sheeraz. The garrison made daily sallies upon the besiegers; and a Persian poet (if there had been a Firdousee) might have immortalized chieftains who vanquished the foe in single combat. The impetuous valour of Zuman Khan would not allow him to relinquish the pursuit of a flying enemy, and he fell, mortally wounded, close to the lines of the hostile army. With him sunk the spirits of the garrison, who desisted from making further sallies. Three months after this affair, Ukbur Khan received a message from Moohummud Khan, who had charge of one of the gates, assuring him, that if he would make an attack that night, the gate should be opened. He accordingly made the attack; but the vigilance of Ulee Nuqee Khan defeated the intended treachery, and he was forced to retire. Ulee Moorad Khan besieges Sheeraz.

The charge of the gate was now confided to Kazim Khan, who two nights after gave admission to a party under Ukbar Khan. Sadiq Khan endeavoured to repel the assailants; but another gate had now been opened by the treachery of his troops, and the enemy, after a nine months siege, got entire possession of the fortress. Sadiq Khan and his sons were taken prisoners; the former underwent the fate which he had inflicted upon his predecessor. Taken by treachery. A. D. 1781.

Ulee Moorad Khan made a triumphal entry into Sheeraz, and was proclaimed ruler over the government of Fars. His success was, however, embittered by the distinguished qualities of Ukhbur Khan; and his vanity received a severe check from a Ulee Moorad Khan enters the city,

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consciousness of his important services. During the conduct of the siege he had frequent opportunities of witnessing his ability and conspicuous bravery; and the man who should have commanded his gratitude, by the perverted policy of the East, excited his jealousy, and incurred his hatred. Unable to conceal his apprehensions, he sent for Ukbur Khan, and desired him to swear upon the Koran, that he would serve him with fidelity, which he readily agreed to, and added a number of protestations to convince him of the sincerity of his intentions. Still distrusting Ukbur Khan, for he had rendered too many essential services not to be feared, he sent for him again, made him repeat his oath, and then told him, that to ensure his fidelity, he would give him his daughter in marriage.

Assassinates Ukbur Khan.

The next night after this interview, he concealed Jafir Khan, with forty guards, in an adjoining room, and then sent for Ukbur Khan. He had instructed his attendants to inform him, that the king still distrusted him, and that it would be adviseable for him to leave his arms at the door. Unsuspicious, he did as he was desired, and entered the private apartments. Ulee Moorad Khan, seeing the situation he was in, called out to Jafir Khan, who appeared at the head of his guards. He told him, that his father had been put to death without his orders, and there was the murderer.* Upon a signal from the king, he secured Ukbur Khan, and put out his eyes; he was afterwards murdered, and his brothers and family sent in confinement to Isphahan. The page of history has never been polluted by a recital of a more infamous transaction.† The son of a murdered

* Jafir Khan is said to have attached himself to Sadiq Khan whilst he was besieging Sheeraz; he could not have been much enraged against the *supposed* murderer of his father.

† The treachery of Ukbur Khan is said to have occasioned his death. Francklin. No mention is made of this in the Persian history or manuscript.

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father, the brother of three murdered brothers, thinks himself fully satisfied by being allowed to revenge himself upon the enemy of the assassin of his family.

Returns to Isphahan.

Ulee Moorad Khan returned, after a short residence in Sheeraz to Isphahan, and appointed his son to the government of Fars. His nephew was sent, with a small force of cavalry and infantry, to Tuhran.*

A Moohummud Khan takes Rusht

A Moohummud Khan had not been an inattentive observer of the war which prevailed between Sadiq Khan and Ulee Moorad Khan; nor did he fail to take advantage of the opportunity which was offered of aggrandizing his power. He prepared to invest the city of Rusht,† the government of which place had been for years in the family of Hidaet Oolah Khan. As this city was situate on the shores of the Caspian sea, a communication had always been kept up with the Russians, and at this time there were two ships of war and a merchantman anchored off the town. Hidaet Oolah Khan embarked his property on board these vessels, and made every effort to resist the enemy. His army, however, was entirely defeated, and he was not more successful in another engagement, which was fought under the walls of the city. He fled, with his principal officers, on board the Russian ships, leaving the town in the hands of the enemy.

Ulee Moorad Khan sends a force against him.

Ulee Moorad Khan had been applied to for assistance, which did not arrive in time to prevent the important city of Quzween‡ from falling into the hands of A Moohummud Khan. A reinforcement was sent, with orders to advance against these

* Tuhran, a town of considerable size, and now the capital of Persia. It is situate in a plain, and experiences equal severity of heat and cold; it is about twelve marches to the Caspian, and little more to Isphahan.

† Rusht is a town of consequence, and of much trade, particularly in silk.

‡ Quzween is situate near the famous mountains of Ulwund.

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places. A Moohummud detached a small force to garrison Quzween, which was entirely defeated. He then retired to Rusht; and leaving a strong garrison, under the command of his brother, he retreated to Bar-Furosh, the capital of Mazenderan. Here he was seized, and confined by his brother, Ruza Qoolee Khan, who had entered into a confederacy with Ubdal Khan, for the purpose of seizing the government. If, in a country like Persia, any excuse be necessary to extenuate invasion, Moortuza Qoolee Khan might urge the right of avenging a brother's wrongs. With a small force, and a body of Turkomans, he advanced rapidly against Mazenderan. The confederates marched to oppose him, and a sharp action commenced, which was maintained with much obstinacy; at length a body of Turkomans, charging one of the wings, whilst Moortuza Qoolee Khan charged the other, victory declared itself in their favour, the enemy being thrown into irreparable disorder. Ubdal Khan fled towards the fortress of Saree;* but having, at some former period, disgusted the officer who commanded at that place, he thought the present a fit opportunity to be revenged; and instead of opening the gates, commenced firing upon him from the works. He was soon surrounded by the enemy, and made prisoner. The consequence of this victory was the immediate release of A Moohummud: for the persons into whose trust he had been committed, and who had been concerned in his deposition, saw no other means of securing his pardon than by again betraying their charge. They accompanied him to Bar-Furosh, and he soon found himself at the head of a respectable force.

A Moohummud seized and released by Moortuza Qoolee Khan.

Moortuza Qoolee Khan might conceal his disappointment, or avow his satisfaction at his brother's liberty; he was fully

* Saree, one of the capitals of Mazenderan.

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aware that the result of this victory had only opposed a more serious obstacle to the completion of his designs. He therefore acquainted A Moohummud with his success, and requested his commands respecting the the disposal of Ubdal Khan. A Moohummud sent him his sword, which was a sufficient indication of his wishes.

A Moohummud suspects his brother.

The designs of his brother had not escaped the penetration of A Moohummud, who collected his forces together. Finding himself sufficiently strong to compel his submission, he sent a messenger to demand his attendance. Astonishment for a time suspended the rage with which he was inflamed; at length, finding utterance for his passion, he exclaimed, "he was his own king, that he had a sword and discretion." He dismissed the messenger, with injunctions to advise A Moohummud to abandon all notions of royalty.

A. D. 1782. besieges Saree.

A Moohummud immediately commenced the siege of Saree. Moortuza Qoolee Khan fortified some of the gates, and harrassed the besiegers by constant sallies; but as the enemy had cut off the canals which supplied the fort with water, the garrison, at length, were reduced to the greatest distress, and, owing to the number of the people, the supply in the fort was soon exhausted. Further resistance was useless; and he was obliged to abandon the fortress into the hands of the enemy.

Nobles fly to Ulee Moorad Khan.

The adherents of the family of Zund had beheld the success of A Moohummud with envy, perhaps regret; and many of them had retired from this scene of mortification to Isphahan. The minister listened with attention to their remonstrances, and, through him, they represented to the king what the servility of his courtiers had never ventured to whisper; that his authority was unacknowledged on the borders of the Caspian sea, and that A Moohummed Khan, a Qajar,* presumed to contend with

* Qajar is the way it is spelt, Qujur the way it is pronounced.

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him for the Persian throne. They continued, that he was by no means formidable; and that if they were assisted with a small body of troops, and an experienced commander, they would reduce him to subjection.

Sends a force into Mazenderan.

Ulee Moorad Khan dismissed the nobles, with a body of six thousand men; and on their arrival at Lar,* on the borders of Mazenderan, their army was reinforced to twenty thousand. A Moohummud Khan advanced to oppose the enemy; and having strengthened Uml with a reinforcement of three thousand men, he arrived, a few days after, with an army of eighteen thousand. The armies were now within a short distance of each other; and their picquets,† which were much in advance, came to an action. The success of the enemy urged them to pursue the troops of A Moohummud into the narrow pass of Door Muklu, where they were completely routed by a body which had been stationed there by Ulee Qoolee Khan. He brought his prisoners to A Moohummud, who put some of them to death, and granted others the indulgence of losing either a hand or an eye.‡

Defeated.

Umeer Goonu Khan advanced the next day against A Moohummud, who drew out his army to oppose him. He gave the command of the right wing to his brother, the left to Mustuffa Khan, and reserved the center where he had stationed his best troops for himself. Ruza Qoolee Khan commanded a body of reserve. Umeer Goonu Khan made a similar disposition of his troops, and advanced to engage the enemy. For some time fortune declared itself in his favour; but Ubas Qoolee Khan bing unfortunately killed by a musket ball, the wing which he

* Lar is not in the map of D'Anville, and I know no where else to expect it.

† Quravulee.

‡ This dreadful punishment is called Chuporast; the prisoner loses a right eye or left hand.

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commanded fled, and threw the rest of the army into irreparable disorder. Many prisoners were taken, and a few officers put to death.

A Moohummud Khan after this victory determined on making the fortress of Saree his capital, and commenced upon building a citadel, a palace, and baths. The designs of despotism are soon executed, and the next year his palace was completed. Whilst his attention was thus occupied, his brother was employed in reducing the adjacent country to his authority.

A Moohummud improves Saree.

A. D. 1783.

Ulee Moorad Khan determined to make another effort to reduce his rival to submission. A large body of troops was sent, under the command of his son, into Mazenderan, which defeated the enemy, and captured the important fortress of Saree. He then sent a party to Astrabad,* to which place A Moohummud had retired. This force had to prosecute their march through impervious and almost impenetrable ways, so much so, that a handful of men, stationed in these defiles, would defeat the largest armies. Flushed, however, with success, and holding the enemy in the greatest contempt, the commander, Moohummud Zahir Khan, neglected to secure the passes in his rear, and which were immediately occupied by the enemy. Arriving before Astrabad, he found that his supplies were entirely cut off; and, after making an attempt to subsist himself by plunder, he was obliged to disperse the whole of his army. This intelligence no sooner reached Sheikh Wys, than he was abandoned by the whole of his force, and obliged to retire from Mazenderan. Ulee Moorad Khan still persisted, and another body of troops was detached from Tuhran. Several officers who had behaved ill in the late affair were beaten to death.†

Ulee Moorad Khan detaches another force.

* Astrabad is beautifully situated on the southern part of the Caspian.

† *Tokhmaq*, beating a person with a mallet or tent pin. A common punishment.

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Jafir Khan rebels.

His attention, however, was soon diverted from the prosecution of his efforts against Mazenderan, by the open or secret perfidy of Jafir Khan. He had been appointed governor of Khums,* and having heard of the king's late disasters, and the violence of the dropsy,† with which he had been some time afflicted, began to entertain designs of falling upon Isphahan. Ulee Moorad Khan, notwithstanding the height of his disease, and the severity of the season, the roads being covered with snow, determined on returning to Isphahan. He commenced his march in a Tukhti Ruwan, a conveyance slung between two camels, and died at Moorcha Khoort, thirty miles from Isphahan. The minister, Mirza Rubee, did not divulge his master's death until he reached Isphahan, saving by this means the royal treasures from being plundered. The troop s now dispersed themselves to plunder; so justly (remarks the Persian) says the poet, when the sun descends, insects take to wing.

A. D. 1784.

Character of Ulee Moorad Khan.

Ulee Moorad Khan reigned over Persia five years, and was independent of the government two years prior to this period. Persia, during this time, enjoyed a certain degree of peace; and although the treachery of his servants often rendered his measures abortive, he still contrived to confine his rival to the province of Mazenderan. He enjoyed an undisputed authority over Irak, Fars, and the Gurmseer; and the vigour of his government made that authority respected. We have had occasion to notice his treachery; and if we suppose him to have possessed any good qualities, we must allow him the merit of having concealed them. But in a government which is worse than despotic, for a despot will not treat his subjects as enemies, it is difficult to determine what is strictly moral or just. The Persian despot, in the pride of victory, may imagine that the

* Khums is a large city, about one hundred miles from Tuhran.

† According to the Persian this was from an immoderate use of wine.

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law which commanded the murder of those who resisted the word of God, extends to those who *resist his shadow*;* or should this fail, he may justify his actions by the undisputed right of retaliation.† He may claim the same indulgence as his subjects to violate the laws; and may urge that the emotions of private feeling, and the ties of private friendship or gratitude, must give way to public good. Such excuses have been discovered by the ingenuity of man; but a Persian scorns any plea to palliate murder, or extenuate treachery. The victories of Timoor,‡ or Nadir, are generally known, whilst their cruelties are seldom noticed; and if their pyramids of heads can be forgotten, the murder of Ukbur Khan may be forgiven.

Jafir Khan assumes the government. A. D. 1784.

Baqir Khan, the governor of Isphahan, enjoyed for a few days either the pleasures or fatigues of royalty; but on hearing of the approach of Jafir Khan, he fled, and was taken prisoner. The fortunate death of Ulee Moorad Khan had removed the only obstacle that opposed Jafir Khan's ambition. He was recognised by the principal noblemen in Fars, and the people were *forward* in acknowledging his authority. He appointed Nujuf Khan to Qoom, Uhmud Khan to Kashan,§ and dismissed the other governors to their respective governments. A Moohummud Khan ventured now to embrace a more extensive field for the exertion of his talents, and commenced his march against Isphahan. Nujuf Khan, on hearing of his march, abandoned Qoom, nor did he think himself safe until he reached Isphahan. Nothing could check the precipitate flight of the troops, who dispersed themselves in small bodies, and spread themselves over the whole country.

* The Eastern kings are called the Shadow of God.

† See Koran, chap. viii. Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 304.

‡ Timoor even has been called humane.

§ Kashan is near the mountains, about one hundred and fifty miles from Isphahan.

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Flies.

Jafir Khan was unable to resist the enemy, and made preparations for a hasty retreat. During the disturbances which prevailed at this time, Baqir Khan, with some other adherents of the late king, effected their escape; and assembling a rabble from the outcasts of the army, and the inhabitants of the city, than whom none are more mutinous, they attacked the king as he was deserting the city, firing at his party, and overwhelming them with stones. After much difficulty he effected his escape, leaving, however, his treasure, and even some of his family behind him.

Arrives at Sheeraz.

The loyalty of the people of Sheeraz, or rather their aversion to Syyud Moorad Khan, defeated the views of that chieftain. His army disbanded; and not thinking it prudent to oppose Jafir Khan, he admitted him into the city. Hajee Ibrahim was appointed Kuloontur of all Fars, in the room of Mirza Moohummud, who had not been able to effect his escape from Isphahan. Jafir Khan now applied himself to the affairs of his new acquired government, and took great pains in assembling a new army.

A Moohummud subdued the principal places on his march to Isphahan, when his presence was demanded to quell a mutiny which had broke out amongst the tribe of the Bukhteearees.

Jafir Khan returns to Isphahan.

Jafir Khan, having completed his arrangements, left the government of Sheeraz in the hands of Lootf Ulee Khan, his eldest son. On his march towards Isphahan, he received information that the army of his rival had dispersed, and that he had been obliged to return to Tuhran. Success enlarged his views, and he now determined to advance against Kashan and Humudan. The fears or the courage of Baqir Khan, who had two sons with A Moohummud, compelled him to adopt a different plan of operations. He detached a force under Ismaeel

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Khan against Birojird, Nuhawund, and Humudan;* and another under Ulee Qoolee Khan against Kashan, whilst he prosecuted the siege of the citadel of Tuberg in person. The governor of Kashan was attached to the family of Zund, and readily delivered up that city to the officers of Jafir Khan.

Ismaeel Khan had no sooner executed the service which he had been sent upon, than he began to entertain designs against the government. He levied fresh forces; and to allure troops to his standard, he plundered the caravans, and divided the spoils amongst the army.† Ismaeel Khan rebels.

Jafir Khan still pushed forward the siege with much vigour, keeping a constant fire upon the citadel both day and night; but the effect of Persian artillery would be very inconsiderable, and he might have despaired of success, if the treachery of the garrison had not seconded his operations. At the end of four months the garrison, finding that they had no hope of relief, and their lives and property being assured them, delivered up the place to Syyud Moorad Khan. The courage of the governor made him, in the eyes of a Persian, more worthy of death; a fate which, it is almost needless to say, he suffered. His desire of punishing Ismaeel Khan was probably encreased by delay; and, in defiance of the season, he was determined no longer to forego the gratification of revenge. He advanced with the utmost expedition; and the army of Ismaeel Khan, who had only assembled with a view to plunder, fled upon his approach; custom, not lenity, might induce him to pardon the troops who returned to his camp, and whom he might justly suspect of deserting on the first opportunity of plunder. Ismaeel Khan fled; and was soon joined by Moohummud Umeen Khan with a Jafir Khan takes the citadel.

* Humudan (the ancient Ecbatana) is north-west of Ulwunt; Nuhawund is within a short distance of it. Cities give their names to districts.

† See Appendix, No. VIII.

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body of troops. They assembled a number of tribes who were disaffected to the government; and, finding that they were at the head of a considerable army, they prepared to attack Jafir Khan.

Defeated.

The armies were soon opposed to each other, and an action commenced, which lasted from mid-day to two hours after sun-set, when Jafir Khan was entirely defeated, and obliged to fly to Isphahan. His guns and baggage were taken by the enemy. Jafir Khan was not dispirited by his late defeat; he commenced levying fresh troops with an intention of attempting to retrieve his character, but was prevented by a series of events which now demand our attention.

Moohumud Hosein Khan, a man noted for the violence of his temper, and the weakness of his understanding, commanded the fortress of Junduk, a place which receives additional strength from being situate in a desart, and destitute of water. The present appeared to him a favourable time for aggrandizing his power; when A Moohummud had full possession of Tuhran; Ismaeel Khan in rebellion; Jafir Khan detained at Isphahan; and the whole country a prey to rapine and plunder. He opened a correspondence with Meer Moohummud Khan Tubsee, who sent five hundred Khorasan infantry to his assistance. With this body, and his own troops, he plundered the district of Kashan and Isphahan, and extended his ravages wherever there was little danger.

Jafir Khan sends a force to subdue him.

Jafir Khan received these accounts soon after his retreat to Isphahan, and sent out a force, under Hajee Qoolee Khan Kazroonee against him. He was entirely defeated, and fled to Junduk; the Khorasan infantry threw themselves into one of the neighbouring forts, and which they consented to deliver up if their lives and property were granted to them. This was agreed to; and they accompanied Hajee Qoolee Khan to

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Isphahan. He did not fail to acquaint the king with the stipulation he had agreed to, who, however, insisted that they should be disarmed and confined. Hajee Qoolee Khan still insisted upon the necessity of observing a sacred engagement, but the king was not swayed by such scrupulous opinions, and refused to attend to his earnest remonstrances. Vexed and disgusted at the king's want of faith, he resolved on returning to Kazroon; and his troops, being inhabitants of that part of the country, joyfully acceded to his wish.

Jafir Khan returns to Sheeraz.

Jafir Khan endeavoured, when it was too late, to pacify this nobleman; and, dreading the effects of his discontent, he determined upon returning to Sheeraz. He then invited Hajee Qoolee Khan to return to Sheeraz; but as he suspected the sincerity of the king's invitations, he received them with coldness and distrust. Jafir Khan was resolved either to soothe or to compel him into compliance; and sent a force, under the command of his son, to confirm the oath which he had sworn upon the Koran, of inviolable and unalterable regard. An oath so enforced was of necessity believed; and, as it had been accepted from compulsion, it was treacherously observed.

Marches, A. D. 1787.

Soon after this affair he marched into the Gurmseer, and returned at the commencement of the spring to Sheeraz. He had long suspected Syyud Moorad Khan, who was, upon his return, seized and confined with the rest of his family. He now thought himself free from open or secret enemies, and he determined to avail himself of this favourable circumstance to advance against the city of Yezd.* At Ubrqoovu he was met by a deputation, who betrayed the weakness and suspicions of their master, by the presents which they brought, and the reasons they urged to excuse his absence. Nothing would satisfy Jafir Khan but his personal submission; and, leaving his baggage

* Yezd, a large and populous city, the capital of Kirman.

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and stores at Ubrqoovu, he advanced against Yezd. Tuqee Khan had applied to Meer Moohummud Khan Tubsee, a nobleman of high reputation, and who came to his assistance with a small body of infantry. The next morning they advanced to attack Jafir Khan; and, after a sharp contest, they attempted
A. D. 1788. to force his lines. They at length succeeded; and, driving the enemy from all their posts, gained a most complete victory. Jafir Khan fled to Ubrqoovu; and halting there a few days, retired to Sheeraz.

Moohummud Khan the cause of his defeat.

Moohummud Khan had greatly incensed the king, who attributed his late defeat to the conduct of this nobleman. Conscious of the justice, or dreading the effects of the king's anger, he fled, and refused to return to Sheeraz. Jafir Khan marched to chastise him; he however detached his son, Lootf Ulee Khan, against Lar,* and returned himself into Fars. Moohummud Khan relied upon the strength of the fort; and not thinking his presence necessary, retired to the sea coast to procure assistance from the Arabs. He put Tarom in a state of defence; and, having collected a sufficient force, advanced to engage the enemy. The superior conduct and courage of Lootf Ulee Khan prevailed; and the immediate consequence of his victory was the surrender of Lar.

Lar destroyed.

Jafir Khan sent orders for the fort to be destroyed, and the families of Moohummud Khan and Abdoolah Khan to be sent in confinement to Sheeraz. He also recalled his son, as A Moohummud Khan threatened an attack upon Sheeraz. A Moohummud did not make the attack, but contented himself with plundering the neighbouring country. His authority, however, was so far established, that on his return to Tuhran, he left his brother in charge of Irak and Fars, and Nusr Oollah Khan in command of Qumshu.

* The capital of the province of that name, an inconsiderable place.

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The hopes of Jafir Khan did not decrease with the accession of his rival's power. He marched from Sheeraz, and arrived with much pomp at Isturjar, a place near Qumshu. He detached his brother in advance, to prevent the enemy from quitting the fort, who sent on a small body in front, expecting that the enemy, seeing the smallness of the party, would be induced to make a sally. His plan succeeded to his wish; and at day-break he fell with his whole force upon them, making a dreadful havoc. Nusr Oollah Khan, who advanced to the support of his routed troops, was unable to withstand the impetuosity of their charge; his whole force gave way and fled towards the fort. They were closely pursued; and the garrison were afraid to open the gate, lest they should admit both friend and foe. Nusr Oollah Khan and his two uncles were made prisoners. A. D. 1788.

Jafir Khan was the more rejoiced at the success of this affair, as it put into his power the former governor of this place, who had insulted his authority by firing upon him as he passed the fort on his flight to Sheeraz. He was put to death; and Jafir Khan, on his march to Qumshu, listened to the exploits of his troops, and rewarded them according to the extent of their services. He halted a short time at Qumshu; but receiving intelligence of the flight of the enemy, prosecuted his march to Isphahan. Arrives at Isphahan.

A Moohummud did not allow him to riot long in imaginary success. He advanced with the utmost expedition, and Jafir Khan fled with equal precipitation. He might excuse his flight by the necessity he was under of punishing some refractory chiefs in the Gurmseer; but flattery could not conceal from him the truth, that, in subduing the greater, he would also subdue the lesser danger. Lootf Ulee Khan was sent against them. Flies on the approach of A Moohummud.

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they retired to the port of Usloo, and assembled a number of boats at Lunkur, to elude the resentment of Lootf Ulee Khan, should he persist in his march against them. He continued his march; nor did he stop until the sea presented an unsurmountable barrier to his resentment. He was perplexed to know how he should represent this affair to his father; but was cruelly relieved by the accounts he received of his assassination.

Assassinated, 1788.

Hajee Qoolee Khan, and Syyud Moorad Khan, whose fate we have related, had relieved the languor of confinement in devising schemes for their escape. They succeeded in seducing some of the guards, and a female attendant of the seraglio, who had formerly belonged to Syyud Moorad Khan. Their plans promised certain success; but they delayed putting them into execution until the departure of Lootf Ulee Khan from Sheeraz. This took place; and finding that the poison they had administered had taken effect, and that the king was greatly reduced, they effected their release, and fell suddenly upon Jafir Khan. The violence of his disorder did not prevent him from making a formidable resistance; he wounded one of the conspirators; but at length fell before superior numbers. His head was severed from his body, and cast before the citadel, the sport of children and the outcasts of the city. Syyud Moorad Khan was proclaimed king, and letters were written in his name to the different chieftains under the government of Sheeraz.

His character.

A Persian moralist might imagine that he could *trace* the hand of the Almighty, in permitting persons, who had endured the severest injuries, to avenge themselves upon their oppressor. But I know not if this would be just. Jafir Khan *executed* what Syyud Moorad Khan *intended;* and where there is competition there necessarily must be defeat. Jafir Khan is said to have been mild and just; and where he was acknowledged to have

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been beloved and respected. He was of a middle age, very corpulent, and squinted.*

Lootf Ulee Khan was deserted, upon this intelligence, by the whole of his army; he was happy, with five attendants, to accomplish his escape to Bushire. The hospitality of an Arab need hardly be demanded. Sheikh Nasir extended to him the protection he sought, and promised to assist him with the forces he might levy in the adjacent country. To confirm the sincerity of his intentions, he resigned his eldest son into the hands of Lootf Ulee Khan; and, in the course of three months, assembled a force with the view of besieging Sheeraz.

Lootf Ulee Khan flies to Bushire.

Syyud Moorad Khan determined to anticipate his intentions, and detached an army against him, which penetrated to Dalikee. Lootf Ulee Khan was encamped at no great distance, when a conspiracy broke out in the camp of the enemy, at the head of which was Ulee Himmut Khan, who had concerted measures with Hajee Ibrahim, and some other adherents of Jafir Khan. The conspirators seized Syyud Moorad Khan's brother, and sent him to Lootf Ulee Khan, who put him to death. The brothers of Hajee Ibrahim were not so successful in their attempt to secure the person of Syyud Moorad Khan; he escaped their treachery, and sheltered himself from immediate danger in the citadel.

A force sent against him.

Lootf Ulee Khan now advanced without danger or interruption; his success entitled him to the clamours of the multitude; and he enjoyed, in a few days, the satisfaction of possessing the persons of his enemies. Great interest was made to procure a pardon for the assassins of his father; their lives were spared, but they underwent the more cruel punishment of losing their eyes. He now attempted to settle the adjacent country; but was soon diverted from this laudable pursuit by

Arrives at Sheeraz.

* Franklin.

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the approach of A Moohummud. He put Sheeraz into an excellent posture of defence; and, having collected a large army, he ventured to attack the enemy, who had encamped at some distance from the city. A Moohummud gained a complete victory, and immediately commenced the siege of Sheeraz. After a perseverance of three months, he returned to Tuhran, and marched soon after into Azrbyajan.*

Marches from Sheeraz, A. D. 1790.

Lootf Ulee Khan did not fail to benefit from the absence of the enemy. He recruited his army, and disciplined his troops; and finding that A Moohummud was engaged, he determined upon attacking Kirman. He left the nominal government of Fars in the hands of his younger brother, a youth of tender age and no experience; but committed the civil administration of affairs to Hajee Ibrahim, and the defence of the fort and the adjacent country to Burkhodar Khan.

Dismisses the ambassador from Kirman.

Lootf Ulee Khan dismissed the ambassador of the governor of Kirman with much kindness; and commanded him to inform his master, that as it was his intention to visit that city, he would be able to judge of the sincerity of his professions and the extent of his friendship. As he advanced, he was met by different messengers, who brought different excuses to account for his absence; and he soon discovered that the governor would not make his submissions in person. The passions of the king accelerated the rapidity of the march; and, at the commencement of winter, he set down with his army before the fortress of Kirman. He pushed on the siege with vigour; but the garrison must have derided the imperfect science of his engineers. Submission entitled the inhabitants of the adjacent villages to mercy, perhaps lenity; but the slightest resistance incurred the extremity of his revenge.

Retires to Sheeraz.

The winter had now set in with uncommon violence; the

* Media.

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whole face of the country was covered with snow; and numbers perished from the inclemency of the season. The army was not only much disheartened, but was also greatly diminished. Finding that he could effect nothing against the fort, and that an obstinate perseverance would only add to his distress, he returned to Sheeraz. He arrived, with the broken remains of his army, towards the close of the year; having lost a number of men from deaths, and a still greater number from desertion.

Marches. Army disperse.

Lootf Ulee Khan collected a fresh army with the intention of opposing Baba Khan, who had been left in command of the army during the absence of his uncle, A Moohummud Khan. He was encamped with his forces at Qumshu, where he determined to oppose the enemy, should he advance towards Isphahan. Lootf Ulee Khan halted within a short distance of the enemy, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it would be most adviseable to attack Baba Khan, or to avoid him, and prosecute his march to Isphahan. He was unhappily relieved from this difficulty, by the treachery of Hajee Ibrahim and his two brothers.

Cause of this treachery.

It may be necessary to trace the motives which could induce Hajee Ibrahim, a man who was indebted to the family of the Zunds for the distinction and credit he possessed, to so shamefully betray the trust which was reposed in him, and to hazard his family and life in the expectation of uncertain advantages. The springs of action are seldom discoverable; a traitor is cautious in divulging the real motives for his treachery. In the present case it must be extremely uncertain; I am fortunately relieved by the Persian historian, whose conjectures have the merit of being at least specious.

Burkhodar Khan.

Burkhodar Khan, a Zund, a relation of Lootf Ulee Khan, and much esteemed by him, expected that Hajee Ibrahim should pay him the attention which was due to a superior.

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The dignity of his situation, or the pride of Hajee Ibrahim, would not allow him to make this unmeaning sacrifice. Mutual neglect excited mutual ill-will; the transition from ill-will to open and avowed enmity was easy and unobservable; and the absurd folly of two men effected the ruin and almost utter extinction of a family which had swayed the sceptre of Persia for more than half a century. Burkhodar Khan contrived to insinuate into the king's mind some suspicion of Hajee Ibrahim's fidelity. At first he discredited his information; but perpetual repetition, and some acts of Hajee Ibrahim which had displeased him, excited his distrust, and which Burkhodar Khan and his brother did not allow to subside. Disappointed expectation might aggravate the acrimony of their insinuations; nor will it be unjust to suspect that there might be some foundation for his suspicion. His conduct, on his return from Kirman, betrayed his want of confidence; and the treatment which Hajee Ibrahim and his friends received, gave them little hopes of its ever being regained. His uncommon acerbity and the favour which he manifested towards Burkhodar Khan, gave them much uneasinesss; nor did the people hesitate to lament his sudden change, as he had been before remarkable for the mildness and lenity of his disposition. The people of Sheeraz desired his removal, and his friends kept aloof lest they should participate in the fate which he seemed to deserve.

Hajee Ibrahim confines the commandant of Sheeraz.

Although Lootf Ulee Khan distrusted Hajee Ibrahim, yet, as the charge of the fort was in the hands of Burkhodar Khan, and as his two brothers were with the army, he did not entertain the least apprehension of danger, or of his minister being able to perpetrate whatever treachery he might meditate. This presumption induced him to entrust Hajee Ibrahim with the civil government of Fars during his absence; he however took the further precaution of taking along with him the eldest son of

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the minister. This measure excited unusual alarm in the mind of Hajee Ibrahim; he was now fully satisfied that he had become an object of suspicion, and determined to anticipate the machinations of his enemies. A few days after the king's march, he contrived to secure, without the least opposition, the gates and bastions of the fort, and the persons of the two commandants. The mask was now withdrawn, and he omitted no measure to strengthen his power, or justify his perfidy. Messengers were instantly dispatched to inform his brother of this success; they assembled their troops and followers, and at night commenced a fire upon the king's quarters. Darkness increased the confusion and alarm of this attack; numbers dispersed themselves to gain information, whilst others commenced a promiscuous plunder. Day-break relieved their apprehensions of danger, and the army almost immediately dispersed.

Lootf Ulee Khan fled with a few attendants towards Sheeraz, in the expectation that the fortress was in the hands of Burkhodar Khan, and that the garrison were not concerned in the present commotion. As he advanced, he was joined by some parties of his broken army; and it was not until he had arrived within a short distance of the city, that he became acquainted with the treachery of Hajee Ibrahim, or the success of his measures. He immediately invested the fort, fortified his camp, and began to erect batteries, Flies to Sheeraz.

Hajee Ibrahim was greatly confounded at his intrepidity; he wrote to the principal officers in his camp, inviting them to return to Sheeraz, and threatening them with the severity of his displeasure in case of their refusal. As they had all houses and families in Sheeraz, they were greatly distressed; after a hesitation of three days, during which time their sentiments of gratitude, of fidelity, and honour, combated their affections either as a father, a son, or a husband, they deserted Lootf Deserted.

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Ulee Khan, leaving not more than twelve menial servants to participate in the sudden misfortune of their master. Complaint was useless; delay dangerous; he fled, therefore, with precipitation towards the sea coast.

Flies to Bundureek.

Ruza Qoole Khan sent out a party to intercept him. Their numbers were greatly superior; and they pursued him with so much vigour, that several of his horses fell into their hands; but the intricacy of the roads and paths among the mountains favoured his escape. On his arrival at Bushire, he met with another mortification; he discovered that Sheikh Nasir was inimical to his interests, and was obliged to seek safety and protection from the governor of Bundureek. Here he was not disappointed; the governor received him with attention, and exerted himself in assembling a force for his assistance.

Hajee Ibrahim disarms the adherents of Lootf Ulee Khan.

Treachery and suspicion are inseparable associates; Hajee Ibrahim was not exempted from the deleterious influence of such an union. He disarmed all the troops whom he thought to be attached to Lootf Ulee Khan, and then dismissed them out of the fort. The chiefs whom he distrusted were watched with suspicious vigilance and apprehensive solicitude. The moderation of his views, or his want of assistance, might induce him to make an offer of his services to A Moohummud. His offer was not likely to be rejected; but their professions of regard and attachment were not likely to obliterate the recollection of open and avowed acts of hostility. Their friendship was produced by necessity, and cemented by danger. He was immediately appointed to the government of Fars, Kohgeeloo, the sea coast, and Lar, with strong injunctions to secure the person of Lootf Ulee Khan. The dignity of royalty could descend to enquire after the property of Lootf Ulee Khan, and an officer was sent to receive charge of it. Orders were also issued to Moostufa Khan Qajjar to garrison Abadu, a

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fortress situated on the frontier of Fars and Irak; he was also commanded to obey the requisitions of Hajee Ibrahim.

Lootf Ulee Khan had received an accession to his strength by the arrival of a number of persons who had been driven from Sheeraz. Hajee Ibrahim was sensible of the necessity of reducing a power which encreased by delay; and a force was therefore detached, with orders to form a junction with Sheikh Nasir, and then to proceed against Bundureek. Lootf Ulee Khan advanced upon the enemy before they had received the whole of their reinforcements; and, being joined by a body of horse, who deserted their commanders, he gained an easy and almost uncontested victory. He marched against the fugitives, who had assembled at Kazroon, gained a complete victory over them, and took several persons of consequence prisoners. Lootf Ulee Khan halted some days at Kazroon, where he enjoyed the *satisfaction* of revenging himself upon the governor for the indignity he had offered him on a former occasion. He then ventured to Joom; but as he found the place too confined, he marched fo Zurqoon, near Sheeraz. Soon after his arrival, he discovered that the enemy intended to make a night attack upon his camp; he prepared to receive them, and routed the whole party. The city began to be in want of grain, as the punishments which Lootf Ulee Khan inflicted on those who ventured to relieve the distresses of the city, deterred others from making a similar attempt. Hajee Ibrahim was therefore obliged to detach Moostufa Khan to collect grain, and to convey it into the city. Lootf Ulee Khan received intelligence of this plan, and determined on intercepting the supply. He fell upon the convoy before it had been reinforced by Moostufa Khan, and secured a considerable booty. Moostufa Khan, on hearing of this misfortune, pursued Lootf Ulee Khan, in hopes of retaking the plunder. He came up with him before he had

Lootf Ulee Khan marches against Sheeraz.

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reached Zurqoon, and an action immediately ensued, which was disputed with much obstinacy for several hours. The fortune of Lootf Ulee Khan prevailed; and he succeeded in securing the plunder he had taken.

Commences the siege.

After this success he marched against Sheeraz, and encamped at Qusrooldusht, a fort about four miles from the city. He fortified the fort, and rendered it, in the opinion of the Persians, almost impregnable. Hajee Ibrahim recalled the force which was encamped without the fort, and in a short time received succours from A Moohummud Khan. After allowing the troops a short interval to refresh themselves from the fatigues of their march, the army, with artillery,* under Ruza Qoolee Khan, marched out of the fort to engage Lootf Ulee Khan. He drew up his force near some gardens, where the ground was very strong, and waited the attack of the enemy. Owing to the violence of the cold and the rain, which blew in the faces† of his troops, they gave way, and were pursued with great impetuosity by the enemy, who drove them from their encampment at Qusrooldusht. They now dispersed, and began to plunder the camp. Lootf Ulee Khan, who had remained firm and collected with a small body of troops, took advantage of their disorder, charged them, and put them to flight. His broken troops soon rallied to pursue a flying enemy, they killed and wounded a considerable number, and took some noblemen of consequence prisoners.

Hajee Ibrahim endeavours to cut off his supples.

Hajee Ibrahim now determined to adopt a different mode of operations; for he discovered that Lootf Ulee Khan was daily increasing his strength; and that, although his numbers were small, the spirit and animation of the leader was irresistible. He therefore detached Moostufa Khan to Kirbal, to cut off all the supplies which might be going to Lootf Ulee Khan, in the

* Persian History, MSS. † I have ventured to add, "in their faces."

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hope that if he should be incapable of subsisting his army, it would immediately disperse.* This movement compelled Lootf Ulee Khan to retire to Zurqoon. He contrived to enter into a correspondence with some of his partisans, who agreed to deliver up the fort; but their designs were always discovered, and the contents of their letters known as soon as they were received.*

Applies to A Moohummud for assistance.

Hajee Ibrahim had been very importunate with A Moohummud to march to the relief of Sheeraz, who contented himself with sending reinforcements. At the commencement of the season, however, he marched from Tuhran, and practised his troops by making them fortify every day the ground of their encampment. As he advanced, he detached a force to occupy the passes between Maeen and Eeruj, and encamped at the latter place.‡ His attendants and sycophants flattered him with the hope, that Lootf Ulee Khan would fly the instant he heard of his approach. But they mistook the character of Lootf Ulee Khan, whose ardent spirit courted either dominion or death. His perseverance was unconquerable; and his resolution might be called desperate. He became familiar with hardship, and sought danger that he might find glory.§ His friends were the companions of his misfortunes; for their riches had been accumulated under the family of Kureem Khan, and they now become the partners of their evil destiny. Others, from affection to his family, and supposing that they would participate in the fall of the Zund dynasty, abandoned their houses, wives, and

* See Appendix, No. IX.

† Mirza Futh Oollah, the secretary of Lootf Ulee Khan, divulged the whole of his master's correspondence to Hajee Ibrahim, who could form no design without its being immediately discovered.

‡ Places near Persepolis, on the route to Isphahan.

§ This is the language of an enemy.

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children, to share, in common with their prince, the dangers of the field, and the hardships of constant action.

Lootf Ulee Khan retires on approach of the enemy.

Lootf Ulee Khan, hearing the approach of the enemy, moved to the fortress of Rushmaeejan, where he left his heavy baggage under charge of his uncle, Nusr Oollah Khan. The next day he marched with an intention of making a night attack upon A Moohummud's camp; and about midnight he arrived at the pass which had been occupied by the enemy. This he determined to force; but the resolution of the enemy resisted the impetuosity of his attacks. Enraged at disappointment, "he rushed upon the enemy as the hungry wolf rushes into the midst of the helpless flock, carrying destruction wherever he went." The commander, Ibrahim Khan, was taken prisoner, and put to death, and numbers were killed and wounded. He pursued the flying enemy; and, leaving a party at a short distance from the camp, stormed their entrenchments. His men now suffered greatly, and he was obliged to rely once more upon the powerful effects of his own example. The enemy fled, opposition had ceased, and there were but small parties who still remained firm and collected. Fate seemed to have determined the event; but the fortune of A Moohummud was destined to prevail over the superior conduct and courage of his rival. Mirza Futih Oollah, thinking that A Moohummud was amongst the number of the fugitives, entreated Lootf Ulee Khan to suspend the slaughter, and to wait the approach of day, when he would be joined by the enemy's troops. He followed this advice; but the dawn presented him with a scene of the most mortifying disappointment. The summons to prayers* was a sufficient confirmation of A Moohummud's being still in camp; his troops saw their danger, and fled with the utmost

* This is never done but when the king is in camp.

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precipitation. Lootf Ulee Khan, abandoned by his troops, and persecuted by the treachery of his friends,* retired, in the greatest confusion, towards Kirman. But his misfortunes were already known; the governor refused to admit him into the fort, and he was obliged to continue his flight to Khorasan.

A Moohummud, after the successful issue of this affair, marched to Sheeraz, where he employed his royal time in collecting the wretched remains of the wealth and grandeur of the Zund dynasty, and in transporting them to Tuhran; he ordered a few confined noblemen to be blinded; and with savage, though not unequalled barbarity, removed all the families of the Zunds into the province of Mazenderan. At the close of the year he returned to Tuhran, but returned again to Sheeraz at the commencement of the spring. Hajee Ibrahim had been appointed viceroy of Fars; but if he felt uneasy at the suspicions which Lootf Ulee Khan manifested of his fidelity, his feelings must have suffered a more severe mortification at the precautions which A Moohummud adopted to ensure his obedience and command his services.† A wife and two sons were kept as hostages for his good faith, which was the more likely to be violated as their dangers diminished. Sheeraz had often defied his attacks, and he was determined it should do so no more. The walls were destroyed, the works razed level with the ground, and the ditch filled up. It was probably at this time that the *mutilated* tyrant vented his infantine malice upon the monument of Kureem Khan. His tomb was burst open; and his remains, which were scattered about in all the wantonness of useless rancour, should have awakened in the minds of the people of Sheeraz

A Moohummud marches to Sheeraz.

* It is generally supposed that Mirza Futh Oollah gave his advice from treachery.

† This vindication of treachery is altogether ridiculous; Lootf Ulee Khan never manifested, by any act, his suspicions against Hajee Ibrahim, whose perfidy neither admits of extenuation or excuse.

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some sense of the obligations he had conferred upon them, and a just indignation at the idle and senseless malignity of an infamous usurper. But if the perishable remains of their beloved sovereign were unconscious of the outrages which were offered them, the people of Sheeraz were equally dead to every sentiment of gratitude, of humanity, or of courage.

Lootf Ulee Khan received in Khorasan.

Lootf Ulee Khan found an asylum with Meer Husun Khan; and, having received accounts of the late transactions, he resolved on making another effort to re-establish his authority. With little more than two hundred men he commenced his expedition against a mighty province. The governor of Yezd endeavoured to check his progress, but his resistance was vain, and the plunder which fell into his hands enabled him to levy fresh forces. He succeeded in taking Ubrqoovu by surprize; and the news of his success spreading in the district of Fars, he was joined by several of the adherents of his family, and by a number of *Eeleeats*,* who had been obliged to conceal their sentiments under the mask of submission and fidelity to A Moohummud Khan. He left his uncle in charge of Ubrqoovu, and advanced against Tubrez and Istihbanat with a force of fifteen hundred men. He carried the fort of Tubrez by assault; but at Darab he met with more serious resistance. He was soon obliged to abandon the siege by the approach of the enemy, who, having succeeded in his design, encamped at Rooneez, Lootf Ulee Khan still continued within four miles of their encampment; but finding that he could effect nothing against their superior numbers, he determined on making an attempt to surprize their camp. The superiority of the enemy had not lulled him into security; the designs of Lootf Ulee Khan were discovered, and he was obliged to make a precipitate retreat. The next day the enemy advanced against him in full force, and

* See Appendix, No. X.

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he found himself under the necessity of coming to an engagement. The intrepidity or despair of his uncle, Ubdal Khan, had nearly decided the victory in his favour, when a body of Koords charged his small force, and put it entirely to the route. The fortune of Lootf Ulee Khan was again desperate, nor could he prevail upon a small party of infantry to accompany him in his flight. He was once more received by the governor of Tubus, who either soon give way to the malicious aspersions of his enemies, or who dreaded the resentment of his more powerful and successful rival. Shame prevented him from avowing his real sentiments; he therefore advised him to seek succour and assistance from the king of Candahar and Cabul, as the only means of regaining his lost empire. He penetrated his designs; but as it was useless, perhaps dangerous, to have complained, he consented to his proposal.

Commences his journey into Candahar.

With this intention he reached Buqa-een, where he received accounts of Timoor Shah's death. He desisted prosecuting his journey, and continued at this place, where he was treated with kindness, with sympathy, and attention. Here he received letters from two of his adherents, who informed him that they had collected a force, and invited him to join them. Hope never ceased to animate Lootf Ulee Khan; he deliberated not a moment on their proposal, but advanced with the utmost rapidity to join the friends whose affection predominated over the malice of his fortune. He was joined on the road by a body of Afgans, and proceeded with Moohummud Khan to Bum, where he was received by Juhan Geer Khan. With their joint forces he marched against Kirman, and, when within a short distance, detached his uncle to make an attack upon the fort. Finding that the attention of the garrison was taken up in repelling the assailants, he advanced, under cover of the night, to

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an opposite quarter, and, after a considerable resistance, carried the place by assault. The governor, with the principal officers, retired into the citadel, and on the following night effected their escape. Lootf Ulee Khan commanded coins to be struck, and prayers to be read in his name: "his fortunes smiled;" but it was the smile which is often the fore-runner of death.

A Moohummud marches to oppose him. A. D. 1794.

A Moohummud received accounts of his success, and ordered Hajee Ibrahim, and the principal officers of Fars, to repair to Tuhran. He met them within a short distance of that city, as he was advancing against the enemy. His progress was impeded by the river which runs by Qoom, and by the usual interruption which attends a march, or rather a procession of an Asiatic despot. He detached a force in advance, which was defeated under the walls of Kirman by Lootf Ulee Khan. A Moohummud soon after encamped before the place, erected batteries, and threw several bombs into the town.

Kirman taken, and Lootf Ulee Khan made prisoner and murdered.

After the fort had been beseiged four months, some of the garrison admitted about three thousand of the enemy into the fort, but who were driven back with considerable slaughter by Lootf Ulee Khan. The inhabitants of the city began to despair of ever being relieved from their present distress; they entered into a secret conspiracy with Nujuf Khan, the commandant of the citadel, and who gave admission to twelve thousand of the enemy. Notwithstanding the efforts of Lootf Ulee Khan, he was unable to repel the enemy; and, finding that he was deserted by most of his troops, he retired to one of the gateways, where he continued to defend himself. The wary precautions of A Moohummud to secure the person of his enemy, gave way to the impetuous and desperate valour of Lootf Ulee Khan, who, like the lion, released himself by a vigorous and unexpected effort from the toils by which he was encompassed. He fled

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towards Bum with three attendants, with a celerity which is hardly to be credited. He was received by Mihr Ulee Khan, who made many enquiries after the fate of his brother, Juhan Geer Khan, and who appeared to be satisfied when he was told that he was behind. A fruitless expectation of three days convinced him that his brother was taken; and he determined to seize Lootf Ulee Khan, in the hope that this act of treachery would procure his brother his pardon and his liberty. His attendants informed him of the suspicious approach of Mihr Ulee Khan, who was accompanied by a body of armed men. But the natural presumption of Lootf Ulee Khan's temper persuaded him to treat their suspicions with contempt. He was now surrounded; he forced his way to his horse, which he mounted, and endeavoured to escape. His horse received a wound, and fell: still, not disheartened, he attacked his enemies, but was at length overpowered, after having received two wounds on the head and arm. He was sent immediately to A Moohummud, who manifested his respect for his character in the instant order he gave for his being blinded. The tyrant still dreaded him; and soon afterwards sent orders to Moohummud Khan Qajjar for his murder. His remains were deposited in the mausoleum of one of the Iman's sons at Tuhran.

His character.

The actions of Lootf Ulee Khan sufficiently declare his character. His bravery could only be equalled by the inflexible fortitude which he manifested at the most disastrous events, and at the most sudden and unexpected reverses of fortune. If victory made him presumptuous, defeat never made him despond; and, whether deserted by his troops, or betrayed by his friends, he still evinced the same unconquerable spirit; he might not command success, but he was able to repel despair. Few men have contended with more ardour for glory; and were

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I to compare his character with any European monarch, I should prefer our English Richard's to Charles the Twelfth's. His military talents appear to have been very great, at least much superior to those of his antagonists. He may be accused of a want of prudence, but his history betrays no instance of it; and his measures appear to have been well calculated to remedy unavoidable misfortunes. He may be supposed to have been deficient in the talent of conciliation; but in a country where the dagger of the assassin is concealed under the garb of friendship, we must hesitate before we pronounce undisguised treachery to be the result of supposed acts of violence.* The prosperity of Lootf Ulee Khan procured him many friends, who deserted him when his fortunes declined; and in Persia even they want the hardihood to avow ingratitude. Lootf Ulee Khan was, at the time of his murder, about twenty-five years of age, tall, and handsome. He was a most accomplished horseman, and was esteemed unrivalled in the military exercises of Persia.

Kirman destroyed.

The treachery of the inhabitants of Kirman did not exempt them from experiencing the effects of the tyrant's insatiable fury. The place was given up to promiscuous plunder and carnage; and we must suppose that the passion of avarice moderated, in some degree, the lust and cruelty of savages. The most distinguished persons were thrown into confinement; and the friends of Lootf Ulee Khan were either butchered or blinded. The fort was razed level with the ground, and most of the principal houses were destroyed in attempts to discover secret treasures. A Moohummud was now relieved from further apprehension; Baba Khan was appointed to the

* This is all that I ever heard urged against Lootf Ulee Khan; a plea, if unsupported by proofs, altogether ridiculous.

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government of Fars, and Hajee Ibrahim was *branded* with the title of Khan.*

With Lootf Ulee Khan were extinguished the hopes of the Zunds; the jealous policy of the tyrant has dispersed them over Mazenderan; and they have only now to regret that they made no greater efforts to maintain a dynasty which secured them in the enjoyment of their homes, their families, and fortunes. The memory of Lootf Ulee Khan may live in their songs, and may be cherished by their sufferings; but the torrent which is not stopt at its source defies resistance; and the power of Qajjars is now too firmly established to dread the enmity of a discontented and disappointed family. Conclusion. A. D. 1794.

* The memory of Hajee Ibrahim is in general detested, although, from his elevated situation, he might possess some few *dependent friends*.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

It has been the custom for some authors, who have argued against the personality of land in the East, to question the accuracy of a translation which in the least militated against their own hypothesis; and, although ignorant of the Persian language, to *amend* the translation by some ingenious alteration. To prevent the trouble which these gentlemen are obliged to take, in searching for arguments in support of their alterations, I give the Persian of the Tareekhi Tibree.

چون نوشیروان مبنشست بفر مودکان مساحت که قباد و صیت کرده بود بکنید تا خراج
بر نهید ده یک بر خیزد ورعیت را متغني بود پس آن مساحت را تمام کردند وان جریده کردند
بعد دز مینهاي آبا دان کاندر پارس وعراق بود برسق همپمو دند تا چند حفت آید و بهر جفتي
زمین خراج برنهاد و یک قیفز غله کزان جاي آید خپانک ربهرین ابي سلمي کوید شعر فتَحمِلَكَ لَكُمه
مَالَمهْ تعَلَ وَهلَهَا فتَري بِا ٱلعراَق قَفِنزِ وَ دِرهَم و هر کجا درخت بار آورده بود بزهر درختي چزي
بر نهاد بر جبودان جزیت نهاد بر تونکر نیز و برد رویش کمتر ازان از شش تا هشت تا دوازده
تا مبیت وچهار درم درم تا چهل و هشت و از زنان هیچ چز نستد و این همهرا جریده کرده
ده بده جفت بحفت زمین جزیت نام نبام پس هرچه اندر عراق و پارس کسي بود از مهتران
هر کروهي از ضداوندان صفت و مهتران سپاه و سپران و حکما و علما و موبدان کس فرستاد و
بخواند و روزي میعاد کرد که بردرکاه وي کرد آیند تاوي این حد تهنا بر ایشان عرضه کندوان
خراج بابر ایشان نهد پس روز میعاد همبسه‌را بارداد هر کسي بجاي خویش منبشنند و انرا که

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رسم ایستادن بود به ایستادند نوشیروان خطبه کرد و برخد ایتعالي ثنا کرد و ملکان پشین را بستود وکفت همچنا نکه نعمت خدا تیعا بي برمانس اشت ازانکه برید ران ما بود و مارا ملک افزون داد باید که داد هانیزاز ایشان افزون بود ومن نکاه کردم اندر خلق چاره نیست ملکرا تا اورا بیت المال نبود سر و نبود اورا و تکاهد اشت رعیترا از دشمن تا چون دشمني از سوي پدید آید و ان مملکت بخواهد ستد و بر رعیت دي ستم خواهد کردن از سپاه و مر اورا چاره نیست که مملکت بي سپاه نکاهد ارد و سپاه را از خواسته چاره نیست و ان خواسته از رعیت باید ستدن و اکر ان وقت که بسیار حاجت آید اکر از رعیت انکاه ستاني اندر شتاب بر رعیت حمل افند و مرنت افتد و هرسالي همي باید ستدن و به بیت المال اندر نهادن تا آنوقت که حاجت بود نهاده بود و کاه کرده و از هرچري که هر سال از رعیت همي سند که بیتست المال آوردند نه بزوري داده بود دیدران ما خواستند که این بداد باز برند روزکار نیافتند و به باد شاهي راست کردن مشغول بودند و بدین داو نرسیدند و مارا خدا بغالي غروجل باد شاهي راست کرد ما بدین داد رسیدم و همه زمین هاي باد شاهي مساحت کردیم و برهرجفتي زمین خراجي بعدل بر نهادم و از هر جفتي کسمند یک درم و یک قیفز ازان غله زمین و زهربردرختي و ضعتي معلوم و از هر سري از مخالف ما که ما ایشانرا اندر مملکت خویش همیدارم وخون وخواسته ایشان نکاهدارم چري معلوم و جزتیه ها کردم تا آکاه کنم شمار او بر شما واجب کنم و هر شهريرا کار داري بکزینم مردي پارسا واستوارو بفرمایم تا نچانت کنند و خراج آن شهررا بسه بهره کنند و بیک سال بشتانند و هرچهار ماه یکباره سپردن کنند تا برخلق آسان شود شما چه کویند خلق خاموش بودند دکس جواب ندا و پس نوشیروان کفت مرا جواب دهیدي من خواهم که این برضاي شما بر شما نهام تا داد بو وپس مردي بود از میان مردمان بر حانت و نه از مهتران وکس اورا نشناخت و کفت یا ملک خراج چزي باقي بود و جاد دانه بماند و مردم فنا شود وچزي باقي برفاني نتوان نهادن بر زمین آبادان خراج هني و بمروان خراج بر زمین خراب بماند و برهر فرزندي ان وي بماند نوشیروان کفت اي ابله نادان ندائي که تو خود چه همیکوئي هر سالي ان زمین یها بیایم هرچه و برانست خراج ازوي برکیرم و هر زمین که آبادانست خراج برهنم چه همیشه خراج برانکس مابشد که زمین آبا دان دارد و پس اورا کفت توازکدلم کروي کفت از ویران کفت دیران فضول باشند پس کفت ودیست دویت خویش اورا همي زدند تا بکشندش و همه کفتند یا ملک من از سخن وي بیزارم و تدبیر انست که ملک کفت و داد کرد و صواب دید نوشیروان ان چیز بدفعان بیرون آورد وجمله برایشان بخواند همه به پسندیدند و بزبرفتند و هر شهري کاروان بفرستاد تا خواسته کرد کردند و به بیت المال وي فرستادند و این رسم بماند تا انوقت که ملک از عجسم شد بوقت عمر ابن الخطاب چون عمر زمین عراق بکشاد و خلق مسلمان شدند هیچ رسم نیافت از عدل نیکو تر ازین خراج و مساحت ایشانرا هسم برین رسم بازداشت و این رسم اندر عراق مانده است تا امروز

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When Noushirwan ascended the throne, he ordered, agreeably to the will of Kobad, that the lands should be measured, and the taxes be fixed; that the tax of a tenth should be abolished, and the people freed from it. He measured out the whole country, and made a register according to the lands which were peopled in Irak and Fars. He measured it into Rusks, to see how many pair of cattle would be required for the cultivation, and upon the quantity of land which required a pair of cattle, he fixed the tax,* and an additional one of sixty-four pounds of grain. As Rukbus Bin Ulee Lulma says, "I acquaint you with those things you know not; know your own benefits, the measure of things, and the value of Direms, have been fixed in Irak."† And whenever a tree produced fruit, upon each tree he fixed a certain rate upon its produce. He established a capitation tax, both on the rich and the poor, the lowest from six to eight, to twelve, twenty-four and forty-eight Direms. He did not take any thing from the women. He inserted this in a register, village by village, and yoke by yoke, and, in regard to the capitation tax, name by name. He sent messengers to all the principal people of Irak and Fars, whether the lords of high character, the commanders of the army, the aged, philosophers, the learned, and the astrologers, commanding their attendance: he fixed a day for their coming to the council, for the purpose of explaining their boundaries, and the taxes which were to be established. They all assembled, and they all seated themselves in their proper places; and those who were in the habits of standing, stood. Noushirwan delivered an oration, and gave praises to God, and applauded the former kings, and said, "As the Almighty has been more beneficent to me than to my ancestors, and has enlarged my country, it is

* I translate *Khiraj* a tax, which possibly may be objected to. That it bears this meaning, however, no one will deny; it is used in this sense in compound words. Khiraj-sur, a poll-tax; Khiraj-mal, &c.

† This passage is, if possible, more obscure in the original.

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necessary that I should exceed them in justice. I have looked into the affairs of men, and I see a king must be helpless without a treasury. He must not expect to preserve his *subjects* from an enemy, for an enemy will come from some quarter and seize the kingdom, and oppress the people with his army. I cannot protect my country without an army; nor can an army be maintained without means, and those means must be derived from the people. But if at a period of great emergency you tax your subjects, the stroke will fall heavy upon them, and distress them; it is therefore necessary to take it yearly, and to lodge it in the treasury, that, when it may be wanted, it may be forthcoming; and that whatever annual tax should be paid into the treasury, should not be levied oppressively. My ancestors were anxious to establish it justly, but they had not the fortune, being occupied in regulating the state, nor did they arrive at this *degree* of justice. The Almighty has regulated my kingdom, and I have reached this degree of perfection; and have measured all the lands of my empire, and upon every yoke* I have fixed an equitable tax; for every yoke, one Direm and sixty-four pounds of grain; and from every tree, the prescribed quantity; and from every person who may belong to the country of my enemies, and who live in my kingdom, and whose families are protected by me, I levy a capitation tax. I have fixed a capitation tax, which I shall explain, and levy upon you. I shall establish a virtuous officer in every village, and shall order him to execute this, and to divide the taxes of the village into three payments, which he is to realize in the year, every four months, that they may fall light upon the people. What do you say to this?" The people continued silent, no one gave an answer. Then Noushirwan demanded an answer, saying, that he wished to establish

* I translate *Jofti Zumeen*, yoke. It signifies the quantity of land which requires a yoke of oxen to plough it.

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these *institutes* with *their consent*, that it might be *just*. A man then got up from the multitude, not one of the great, and unknown to every one. He cried out, "O king! there will always be some taxes to be paid, and it will always be so; but the man will die, and you cannot take any thing from a dead man. You fixed a tax upon an inhabited spot, the owner dies, and the tax is to be levied upon a barren soil, and is to be taken from his son."* Noushirvan exclaimed, "O ignorant fool! do you know what you are saying? I shall estimate the land annually, and wherever it is depopulated, I shall remit the taxes, and wherever it is inhabited, I shall levy the taxes: the taxes will always be levied upon the man who has his land well cultivated." He inquired of him what tribe he belonged to. The man answered, To that of the writers. The king replied, They must be fools; and ordered that he should receive two hundred blows with his ink-stand, that he might be killed.* Every one signified their displeasure to the king of the man's speech, and *acknowledged*, that what he had established was proper, and just, and right. Noushirwan immediately produced the regulations, and read them to the people, and they all agreed in approving of them. He sent an officer to every city to levy the taxes, which they sent to his treasury. And these regulations continued in force till the end of the Persian government, in the time of Omer. When Omer conquered Irak, and the people became Mooslims, he did not find any regulations more equitable or superior to these for levying the taxes, and estimating the lands.† He preserved these regulations, which continue in force to this time." (A. H. 302.)

* It is the author's intention to make the man tell nonsense, for which he is most rigidly punished by the *merciful* Noushirwan.

† These regulations are unjustly ascribed to Omer. See Theophanes (Chronograph.), apud Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 375.

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No. II.

I MAKE the following extract from a most interesting paper delivered to the Royal Academy at Berlin by M. Gledetsch.* The proof of the fecundation of the female palm, by the male, is positive.

Le palmier femelle que nous conservons dans le Jardin Botanique Royal, est fort vieux et de belle apparence, sans avoir jamais porté de dattes, jusqu'aux années 1749 et 1750, où je le fécondai pour la premiere et la seconde fois avec de la poussiere des fleurs du palmier mâle que j'avois fait venir de Leipsig par la poste: j'ai fais rapport dans le tems même à l'Académie de ces deux experiences, et j'ai produit, au moyen des dattes parfaitement mûres, de jeunes palmiers qui existent encore dans le jardin: cette fécondation si complette dans une contrée aussi septentrionale que l'est la Marche, fut alors pour tous les connoisseurs, et les amateurs des singularités de la nature, un cas aussi inattendu, et agréable, qu'il est devenu de puis un fait important pour ceux qui s'appliquent plus particulièrement à l'étude des choses naturelles et pour tous les philosophes. L'effet en étoit de décider des doutes les plus embarrassans, et une des controverses les plus vives, puisqu'il mit sous les yeux avec une pleine évidence la diversité réelle des sexes dans les plantes, *leur fecondation, et la maniere de les feconder*; le tout de la maniere la plus abregée et la plus distincte, car la simplicité des deux expériences faites sur ce palmier est si lumineuse et si con-

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vaincante, et les suites ont poussé cette force à un si haut point, qu'il ne savoit plus naître à cet égard la moindre contestation.

En attendant, on peut regarder ici comme une circonstance bien digne d'attention, que la matiere fécondante du palmier mâle s'est venue de vingt milles de distance, et que la troisieme fois je l'ai reçue de Carlsruhe, par conséquent de 80 milles, dans une mince enveloppe de papier, sans qu'elle ait perdu quoique ce soit de sa propriété essentielle. Cette *particularité confirme les relations que nous avons de la culture et de la fécondation des palmiers en Orient*, où l'on nous dit que, dans le tems de la fleurs de ces arbres, les habitans vont chercher partout jusqu'aux fonds des deserts les fleurs mâles, qu'ils cueillent de dessus les palmiers sauvages, après quoi ils en font de gros bouquets, qu'ils mettent à côté des fleurs femelles, dans leur étui (*spata*), afin que la poussiere des premières serve à féconder les autres. On assure que, pendant de semblables voyages, les fleurs mâles restent quelquefois quinze jours, ou trois semaines, en chemin, avant qu'on les emploie à la fécondation."

" Ce fut l'année passée entre le 9 et le 26 de Mai, que notre palmier poussa successivement onze bouquets de fleurs; j'en fécondai trois à la fois de la maniere dont je vais rendre compte. Le Sr. Mulles, jardinier du Jardin Botanique Royal, avoit très-bien préparé ce palmier à l'expérience projetté, en le nettoyant de la poussiere des vieilles feuilles des autres débris et des bouquets de fleurs seches; et la force avec laquelle il évaporoit et attiroit depuis ce tems-là rendoit tout à fait sensible le bon effet de ces precautions. Il avoit aussi à cause de la grand hauteur de cet arbre et de son emplacement, dressé au-dessous de la couronne un échafaudage, qui mettoit en état de féconder régulierement les fleurs, et dans lés commencemens de les considerer avec attention, aussi long-tems que cela étoit nécessaire. Les onze bouquets de fleurs étant sortis de leurs étuis pousserent tout à la fois une multitude de fleurs autour du palmier, qui repandoient une odeur extrême et pénétrante, mais en même

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tems très-agréable, restaurante et vineuse, qui parfumoit toute la serre, et engageoit ceux qui y entroient à la respirer long-tems. *Cette odeur dura autant que ces fleurs continuerent à s'ouvrir les unes après les autres; mais, quand cela vint aux derniers, elle s'affoiblit assez sensiblement.* On avoit dans l'odeur dont je viens de parler l'indice le plus certain que les parties des fleurs destinées à la fécondation étoient parfaitment ouvertes; et le point precis de cette fécondation étoit reconnoissable par la forte affluence des sucs. Les antheres étoient non-seulement émoussées et vuides de la matiere requise pour la fécondation, mais elles n'exhaloient point la bonne odeur restaurante, qu'on a coûtume de sentir dans plusieurs autres fleurs.

After some further remarks he says, " Voici les conséquences qu'on est en droit de tirer des essais entrepris avec succès sur notre palmier.

Que, dans certaines familles des plantes, il y a des tiges separées les unes des autres qui dépendent absolument l'une de l'autre par rapport à leur fécondation naturelle puisqu'elles sont produites l'une et l'autre de leurs semences par la même plante mere; comme les animaux mâles et femelles proviennent sans distinction des œufs fécondis d'une seule et même femelle," &c.

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No. III.

And amongst others who are superior, we can discriminate masculine existence, which is a capability of propagation, and feminine existence, or a capability of conception; and so on till we come to the date tree, which partakes of a number of the qualities of animals; in the construction of which it appears to possess an inherent warmth above all other trees, resembling the heart of other animals, from whence the branches shoot out, as the veins from the heart. And it resembles other animals in these several points; that it accepts the seed or effluvia of the male blossom, is impregnated, and conceives, and that the matter which occasions this conception sends forth an odour similar to that of animals. If its head be cut off, or it receives a hurt, or is overwhelmed, or dies like other animals.

Many respectable people have mentioned other particulars which I shall notice. That this tree appears to long after a particular tree, and that it will not bear fruit but from the impregnation of that particular tree. Now this passion greatly resembles that of desire which is perceptible in other animals.

This is carrying the subject farther than it will admit; we shall excuse this enthusiasm, however, when we recollect that the date tree is every thing to an Arab, and that without it he must perish. Besides which, it is spoken of by the Prophet, who calls it the uncle of mankind, and says that it was made with the dust which remained after the formation of Adam. Nusurood Deen speaks of it as a phenomena he had never witnessed.

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No. IV.

LORD SHAFTESBURY appears to have entertained opinions respecting beauty something similar to those professed by the Soofee writers. The same may be observed of Dr. Reid. See Intellectual Powers of Man, vol. ii. p. 464.

"No wonder," replied he, "if we are at a loss, when we pursue the shadow for the substance; for if we may trust to what our reasoning has taught us, whatever in nature is beautiful or charming, is *only the faint shadow of that first beauty.* So that every real love depending on the mind, and being only the contemplation of beauty, either as it is really in itself, *or as it appears imperfectly in the objects which strike the sense,* how can the rational mind rest here, or be satisfied with the absurd enjoyment which reaches the sense alone?

"If you are already," replied he, "such a proficient in this new love, that you are sure never to admire *representative beauty except for the sake of the original,* nor aim at other enjoyment than of the rational kind, you may then be confident."*

"So that beauty," said I, "and good with you, Theocles, I perceive, are still one and the same."

"'Tis so," said he, "and thus are we returned again to the subject of our yesterday's morning conversation. Whether I have made good my promise to you in shewing the true good I know not.

* "Mind, mind alone, bear witness earth and heaven,
The living fountain in itself contains,
Of beauteous and sublime," &c. Akenside.

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But doubtless I should have done with good success, had I been able, in my poetic extasies, or by any other effort, to have led you into some deep view of nature, and the sovereign genius. We then had proved the force of divine beauty, and formed in ourselves an object capable and worthy of real enjoyment."

Shaftesbury's Characteristics, vol. ii. p. 494.

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No. V.

I PRESENT this as a beautiful episode from the Musnuwee.

درين خاكي طلسم سست بنياد
شنيدم وقتي اي فوزانهٔ استاد

خوش الحان طايري در بوستاني
بشاخي بخت طرح اشياني

بمخلب خار وخاشي كي كشيدي
بران شاخش بصد امید چیدي

خس خشكي چو بر خاري فزودي
نمودي از شغف دل كش سرودي

چوطرفي زان خراب اباد كردي
زشا دي نغمه بنياد كردي

چو وقت امد كه بختش ياورايد
گل اميدش ازگلبن برايد

دران فرخنده جا منزل گزيند
دران خرم سرا خوش دل نشيند

كه ابر نا گهان دامن كشان شد
ازان برقي عجب اتش فشن شد

شراري ريخت در كاشانه او
كه درهم ريخت عشرت خانه او

بجانگذلشت در اندك زماني
ازان جزمشت خاكستر نشاني

چوديد ان بازي ان مرغ غم اندوز
كشيد از دل چو برق اهي جهان سوز

نه دست‌ان كه با گردون ستيزد
نه پاي انكه از دوران گريزد

بگرييدي گهي بر خويشتن سخت
بخنديدي گهي برسستي بخت

دلش هرچند زخمي بس عجب داشت
ولي دامان صبر از دست نگذاشت

عبار خاطر اشفته مي رفت
فريب خويشتن مي داد و مي گفت

بدل گو باش خاشاكي بخاكي
چو در كف هست خاكي نيست تاكي

جهان گر جمله از من رفت گورو
زمشتي خاك ريزم طرحش ازنو

و راز درقم برون شد خرمن از دست
بحمد الله كف خاكشترم هست

بسازم بستر از خا كشترگرم
دو پهلورا نهم بر بسترنرم

ولي غافلكه اين چرخ دل ازار
كه طرح نوز كين ريزد دگر بار

هنوزان حرف میگفت ان بلا كش
كه نا گه صرصري امد بجنبش

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چه صرصر برده از شاخ اشیانها — خراب از جنبش او خانمانها
به‌یک جنبش اساسش‌را زجا برد — خراب اباد او باد صبا برد
بران بستر که بود از خستگیها — بان صد گونه اش دل بستگیها
چنان زد بر بساطش پشت پایی — کژ و هر ذره افگند افگند جایی
چنان زد پشت پا از هرکناری — که شد هر ذره از خاکش ضباری
نماندش یک کف خاکان غم اندیش — که افشاند زحسرت برسر خویش

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No. VI.

GIBBON does not, I think, place sufficient reliance upon the silence of "Abulfeda, Mutaodi, and a crowd of Mooslim writers." A number of Mooslim writers, and among others the author of the Chronicles of Tibree, have given a full and ample account of the capture of Alexandria, and have omitted to notice the most remarkable circumstance which followed the capture of that place. The author of the Tareekhi Tibree finished his admirable work in 302 year of the Hijree, (A. D. 914,) at a period when learning was lost to Europe, and cherished and rewarded by the Mooslim Califs. It is surely not unreasonable to suppose that an author of such repute, and who composed his work at a time which allowed of his venting his indignation at the barbarism of the first calif, would have noticed so important and extraordinary a fact. Or would not other writers, glorying in the destruction of so vast a library, commemorated the event in the most glowing colours of Eastern panegyric? But neither he, nor any of the Mooslim writers, nor Entychius, nor Elmacin,* have mentioned this wonderful circumstance: it was reserved for Abulfaragius. The credibility of this monstrous fact rests entirely upon his assertion, and in defiance of the silence of every subsequent writer. I am not at all surprised at

* They composed their histories in the tenth and twelfth centuries. Mr. Enfield has attempted (vol. ii. p. 229,) to invalidate the silence of both these writers, by the positive evidence of Abulfaragius. It would be satisfactory for us to learn upon what authority a stranger, writing in the fourteenth century, relates this event, and what better means he had of information on the confines of Media than the other writers, both of them natives of Egypt. The positive assertion of an historian cannot invalidate the silence of preceding writers; we should recollect that we are but just recovered from the belief of *Mahomet's iron coffin*.

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the tale having been frequently transcribed; it affords an excellent scope for declamation, and may be used as a strong argument against the Mooslim conquerors.

Abulfaragius might well tell his reader to "*read* and *wonder*;" but if he had told him to read and reflect, his story would have, probably, been discarded as monstrous and absurd. We possibly believe it because it is absurd; for it seems to have little else to command our belief. A library which would afford fuel to four thousand baths for six months, must have contained a larger number of books than there is probably even now, after the invention of printing, in the kingdom of Great Britain. Allowing that each bath consumed a thousand folio volumes a day, and this is a very moderate proportion, the four thousand baths, at the end of the six months, would have consumed *seven hundred and twenty thousand million of folio volumes*. We may read and wonder at this improbable tale; but there appears to me little reason why we should read and believe.

I give the following account of the capture of Alexandria from the Tareekhi Tibree, which is, I believe, a more early account than any which has been presented to the public.

"Amru first arrived on the frontier of Alexandria, where there is a small village called Sulb, which he destroyed. Kishtun, the prince of Alexandria, retired into the fort, which Amru attacked. When he found that there was likely to be some delay in the capture of the fort, he divided the spoils which he had already taken amongst his troops, and sent the fifth to Omer. He continued the siege five months. The prince of Alexandria was reduced to great extremity, and sent a person to Amru, begging for peace. Amru desired them either to profess Islamism, or pay the tribute. They replied, that they had already paid tribute both to Greece* and to Persia, and they would consent to pay it to him upon his agreeing

* The Emperors of Constantinople.

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to release the prisoners who were subjects of Alexandria. Amru replied that he was a subordinate officer, and that he must ask his superior. He wrote to Omer, who replied to him that the prisoners who had been already sent to Medina had been divided, and had been sold; and that some had been sent to Mecca, and into Persia, and that they could not be recovered; and that those who professed Islamism could not be restored; but those who still professed Christianity should be restored, and that those who had become Mooslims should be withheld.

"Amru acquainted the Prince of Alexandria with this reply, who consented to it, and peace was established. The gates were opened; and Amru wrote to Omer, who ordered him to return into Egypt, which he did."

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No. VII.

It has been before noticed, that one of the principal causes of rebellion, is the right which every one imagines he possesses to the crown, and the want of regard amongst the common people for any particular family. Other causes may be discovered, which operate powerfully to foment this fatal spirit of ambition.

1st. Necessity and self-preservation have become a proverbial motive for rebellion; and it could be wished, for the sake of mankind, that it could be followed with as little mischief amongst despots, as it is amongst authors.

2d. As the despot rises from equality, perhaps from great inferiority, to sudden superiority, it is not to be wondered if his elevation excites envy; and if envy be leagued with power, it manifests itself in rebellion. Fear will not allow a despot to remove his intended successor sufficiently from his nobles to command their respect, or reward their attachment. His death involves every thing in confusion, and opens a prospect of equal success to many pretenders. As the prince is not admitted to any share in the government, and is usually too vigilantly watched to have created many friends, his succession to the throne rests upon the will and pleasure of the minister, or some powerful military commander. If they oppose him, his prospect of success is but faint; and we cannot be surprised if they would rather confer the government upon one who would receive it as an *obligation*, than upon another who would consider it as his *right*. They might expect gratitude from the one, from the other they might be certain of hatred and revenge.

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No. VIII.

It is inconceivable with what ease an army in Persia is collected. In times of anarchy and confusion, every man who can purchase arms is a soldier. They flock to the nearest standard of rebellion, and retire upon the approach of an enemy to their homes. They assemble to plunder, not to fight; and feel no compunction in deserting a chieftain who can no longer countenance their depredations. Many persons are reduced to the necessity of becoming soldiers; they have been plundered of their all, and therefore join the army in the hope of retrieving their losses. An army in Persia is nothing more than an immense band of robbers, who are only held together by the expectation of plunder: success commands their services; they support no particular cause, but join the chief whose affairs appear the most prosperous. The only tie upon their fidelity is the possession of their wives and families, or the influence which their commanders may possess amongst them. The first is probably very inconsiderable, and the latter is even more so, for the interest of the commander and his troops will be the same, and they are both influenced by the same principles. The danger of a military life in Persia does not deserve mention; and, as the advantages are greater than in any other country, we ought not to be astonished at its being infested with hordes of licensed robbers, or that a chief should *plunder* his way to the throne.

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No. IX.

The armies in Persia are subsisted by the commander, who is obliged to provide means for maintaining his troops and feeding their horses. This provision, I have before remarked, is called Soorosat, and is given to the troops as part of their pay. They are not therefore preyed upon, as is the case in Indian armies, by artificial famines; they receive a prescribed quantity of grain for themselves and horses, and would of course desert the moment the supply ceased.

In a native Indian army, the commander and the sellers of grain are leagued together to prey upon the troops and followers of the camp. An artificial scarcity always prevails; and, although hundreds should perish from absolute want, the tender heart, even of a Bramin, can contemplate this scene of misery with composure, and without the smallest desire to alleviate the misery his cupidity occasions. The more calamitous the evil, the greater is their profit; and, as far as I am enabled to judge, money is the only god of their adoration; avarice their only passion.

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No. X.

THE ancient manners of the Tartars, or Scythians, are still observed by the Eeleeats in Persia. They are distinguished by their pastoral manners; and, whether in the superintendance of their flocks, or in the management of their families, they either follow or imitate the customs of their Scythian ancestors. A pastoral life must necessarily be a life of war and rapine; for, as they must often be obliged to change their encampments, they must seize by force what their necessities require. It must always be a life of hardship and indolence; of exposure to the inclemency of the seasons, and of freedom from personal labour.

The Eeleeats and Guludars are spread over Persia, and lead a pastoral life when they are restrained from one of rapine and of plunder.

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No. XI.

THE cities in Persia suffer the same calamities as those which were situated on the frontier of Persia and Turkey. The inhabitants are always treated as enemies, although they may have endeavoured to resist the attacks of a hostile army, and may have suffered the severest distress from the arms of the conqueror. They experience the same oppression from either foe or friend; and only know the distinction that he is an enemy who has lately been defeated. The people of Kirman defended the fort against Lootf Ulee Khan; and when A Moohummud took it, they were treated as enemies. This is not a solitary instance: all the cities in Persia were exposed to similar calamities; and many of them were destroyed by the chief whom they hailed as their friend and deliverer!

THE END.

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